The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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TVA, Mr. Willkie and the Supreme Court

Yardsticks and Bludgeons

ONE TROUBLE with the Tennessee Valley Authority and public judgments or animadversions concerning it is that it involves three overlapping objectives, three quite separate sets of motives. The simplest is that of setting up a yardstick which may help to determine what are proper rates for electric power. The second is that of determining whether —or not—the control of electric power has become so centrally important an element in modern life that it should not be entrusted to private individuals but rather to the government, in the interest of the common good. The third relates to the use of government funds, initially at the expense of the rest of the nation, to develop to its fullest potential a district which has been slow in development, thereby helping to decentralize the country and to foster rational, productive, regional growth. For five years the utilities have opposed the first two aspects of the TVA. They have claimed that, in substance, the government has attempted to deprive them of their property without due process of law by grossly unfair competition. If one reads carefully the Supreme Court decision in their case, one cannot help being persuaded that TVA has been pretty tough with the utilities. Yet in justice it must be pointed out that for years before the TVA the utilities have, to say the least, been a very tough influence in our national economy. Their financial high-jinks, their propaganda in press and school, their ruthlessness in trying to get everything they could with insufficient regard of social consequences can have had no justification in conscience. Is it proper for a public agency, particularly the federal government, to use like tactics? Must fire be fought with fire? Shortly after the Supreme Court decision, which declared that the actions of the TVA did not in literal fact violate the due process clause of the Constitution, and that the private utilities had no recourse on the ground of unfair competition, it was announced that a deal had finally been consummated between Commonwealth and Southern and the Authority whereby the latter gains control, with the help of local municipalities, of virtually all Tennessee's power industry. The deal seems to be eminently fair, and it settles the immediate issue. But it does not settle the broader issues arising from the three different motives behind TVA described above.

Even now to consider the TVA as an adequate yardstick is unrealistic. What accounting methods are to be used by TVA? How much of the initial cost of dams is to be charged to flood control and improvement of navigation? Would the federal government consider granting proportionate amounts to private companies in other regions whose new plants would be effective for these purposes? How much will TVA benefit by tax exemption? By interest rates lower than any private utility could hope to obtain? The second matter—the advisability of public ownership of utility companies—is something else again. Only time and the most impartial kind of appraisals of all the factors involved can tell us whether this experiment tends to support the thesis of public ownership. Of the TVA's value for regional development—at least potentially—there can be no doubt whatever, although here again the passage of time is of the essence. If the personnel in charge of government operation can succeed in this department, can make American life more decentralized and can raise the living standards of what has been a depressed region, then this alone makes secondary the question of the yardstick, the question of public versus private ownership in the field of public utilities, and makes up to the country in full and more for five years of bitterness and strife.

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Decentralization and the Housing Movement

ANOTHER approach to the same problem increasingly manifest in recent weeks is the attention now being focused on one-family home projects in semi-rural areas handy to our largest cities. That Nathan Straus, U. S. Housing Administrator, should be giving it such emphasis these days is particularly heartening. He cites the beautiful city of Stockholm as proof that great ports like New York, Chicago, San Francisco and New Orleans could transplant thousands of families now living in congested slums into nearby country districts thanks to their many waterways which provide cheap, rapid, if not colorful transportation, without adding to city traffic jams. Land in Staten Island, for instance, can be had for one-twenty-fifth of its equivalent in Manhattan. The Johns-Manville Corporation is beginning a nation-wide "packaged home" campaign which already includes fourteen different homes to be put up by local labor at an over-all cost exclusive of land as low as $37.70 per month, paid up in twenty-five years, and as high as $89.47 per month for twenty years. Surely housing authorities everywhere should seriously consider the possibility of healthful decentralization before plumping primarily for new multiple-dwellings erected on the sites of former tenements. A sound concept of the family clearly indicates the desirability of decently spaced one-family homes wherever feasible.

The Productive Home

This leads directly to the idea of the "productive home" which housing experts are discussing so vigorously these days. In fact, a $10,000 Productive Home Architectural Competition, attracting 1,500 entrants from forty-five states, is just getting under way with the official approval of the American Institute of Architects. What can be done is indicated by Fertile Valley Homesteads, a project starting this spring under the auspices of the American Rolling Mill Company together with their workers, who originated the idea, and the FHA. Thanks to the collaboration of fifteen state universities and the Department of Agriculture, it has been demonstrated that the soil of their sixty-acre plot, which is only three miles from Middletown, Ohio, the mill site, is well worth tilling. Each worker's one-acre homestead will produce all the fruit, vegetables and poultry needed by a family of five; a farm of this size is about as much as these men can handle in their off-time hours. U. S. Steel workers at Clairton, Pa., and General Electric employees at Bridgeport, Conn., are engaged in similar projects. Might not such houses be considered "productive" in a far wider sense? A healthy family economy rooted in the soil and in home ownership, in the sense of security based on steady employment and personal ownership of some means of production to tide over periods of slack, can produce a culture or way of life marked by a greater degree of self-reliance and mutual helpfulness than is characteristic of the bulk of the American proletariat today.

The Work Relief Fight

THE PRESIDENT'S words to Congress when he signed the reduced WPA appropriation bill forced the relief issue back into the No Man's Land of the present political war. The administration, and conservative section of Congress, clearly at the present moment dominant, look at things with a different eye, and look at each other with a very red eye indeed. It is balance of power politics and both sides are trying to be as provocative as possible. The possession of the Democratic party appears to be the main prize being fought over, with the Republicans, at the weak end of the congressional axis, trying to put their party in a more powerful and strategic position for 1940. Economically, Congress has repudiated the President's suggestion that by means of federal investment, the government bring the country again into the $80,000,000,000 class. But the pump-priming question will not be really faced until some of the presently spoken of economies begin to take hold, and business leaders as well as employees see if a downward spiral is again created as was the case last year. The administration fears the fire, but Congress has not yet decided about the stove.

Politics, Economics, Humanity

As the $725,000,000 appropriation bill reads, the WPA can cut only 5 percent from relief rolls before April, a total of 150,000 persons. From April to June there would be money to keep only about 2,000,000 on WPA. The only methods of reduction suggested by Congress are the elimination of aliens, and the investigation of cases so that no one with any private means at all could get WPA. But requirements already insure pretty complete pauperization. Since October 350,000 have been cut, and that more than compensates for improvement in private business. "Cutting the cloth to fit," as some of the tougher congressmen have ordered, appears to mean cutting out work relief in very large measure and falling back on the dole. Is this to be the first step in economy, while we are appropriating billions for arms to defend the American system? It looks back-front. In all logic, the relief problem comes before the armaments and economy issues. And economy or no economy, both parties are piling up partizan issues—appointments and rejections; secrecy and name calling; prejudgments and many, many words—which threaten the federal government with paralysis when the government still has most serious duties to perform.

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City Council Recommends Subway Murals

Art and the Rush Hour

IN THEIR present state of bareness the gleaming tile walls of most New York subway stations symbolize well-scrubbed cleanliness à la conscientious housewife more than anything else. This gleam in a grimy metropolis should evoke more public gratitude than it does. But the millions of harried workers in the subway rush have little chance to look about them. The only time they notice the shiny emblems of sanitation is when peering out of murky car windows for station names and numbers. Should the Board of Transportation spend the city's good money then for paint and plaster for WPA subway artists and sculptors in accordance with the registered wishes of the City Council? It is hard to believe that subways are "gloomy and depressing" primarily because of lack of ornament. To question this would seem far more germane than to contend that only the Moscow subways now boast murals and sculpture or that WPA art will win the public to subversive social doctrines or depress its esthetic tastes. Perhaps there is something in the objections that paint and plaster gather dirt and that if the art is too lifelike it may dangerously confuse inebriates. But could there be any less likely milieu for art appreciation than most crowded subway platforms, where undivided attention is demanded for preservation of toes and clothes, of balance and dignity, if not of life itself? If the WPA is to exercise its artistic talents, we can suggest many other blank spaces they could more fruitfully enrich. Think of the various lines of idly waiting humans so characteristic of the modern city, at breadlines and movie palaces, at license bureaus and hospital clinics, in court rooms and municipal lodging houses. And how about the reception room, where you can pass so many footless hours hoping for the boss to come out of conference?

Two Major Campaigns against Religion

Secular Journalism and Religious War

THE CURRENT issue of the *Survey-Graphic* presents an interesting summary by the British journalist, F. A. Voigt, on the status of Christianity in two of the countries where it is under active fire today. It contrasts the warfare against belief in Russia with the warfare against belief in Germany; and points out that, despite the avowed and official hostility to all religion in the one, and the jealous determination of the other to annex religion to the purposes of the state, religion remains alive in both. It is still a force in Russia, despite recurrent active persecutions and the fact that "there are no theological seminaries, no missions, no theological literature." And in Germany, not only have imprisonments and disabilities produced no effect at all commensurate with the resolute purpose behind them: "The two Christian Churches exercise a greater power today than they did under the tolerant Republic before the despotic Third Reich." Such informed and acute summaries are always valuable—both to the general public and to religious believers themselves, who though not surprised by their conclusions will welcome their independently presented evidence.

The article has suggested to us a further observation—that the various savage attacks upon religion today have increased its importance to the secular mind. We are speaking, not of Mr. Voigt himself, but of the significant fact that his analysis, and an increasing number of the same sort, are appearing in non-religious papers. The newspapers and magazines written for the non-religious world have always, of course, paid a purely formal deference to religion; but this impersonal politeness did not conceal the conviction that churches and creeds were negligible, non-vital factors in the larger bustle and movement of the present. No honest reader can impute that conviction to secular journalism today. We are not asserting that it has itself "got religion"; but it has at least waked up to the fact that religion possesses dimensions and significance and an energy of resistance which no secular editor could have admtited ten years ago without risk of giving intellectual scandal. Not merely the large bulk of news stories, but a cataract of magazine articles, editorials and columns attest to the fact that the tone and proportions have shifted, both for editors themselves and for the public they serve. History is full of hidden relations. It may be that when the many-sided attack of modern tyranny against man has spent itself, the breach between secular and religious society will have begun to heal.

The Resistance of East Europe

One Triple Problem

WHILE all eyes are turned toward Spain and the further strengthening of the Berlin-Rome axis by Franco's victory, there are happenings in the Danube area which may prove of no lesser consequence for the political future of Europe. Czechoslovakia has already become a vassal state of Germany, but meanwhile Hungary, Jugoslavia and Rumania fight desperately against the advancing Nazi influence. Hungary's foreign policy has been based for years upon friendship with Berlin and Rome. But her interior policy has been a conservative one, opposed to Nazi doctrines. The bomb outrage in a Budapest synagogue last week has been answered by the proclamation of martial law. The present

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régime is not willing to capitulate to the Nazis, especially to their demands for a change in the country's land-owning conditions. There is also some resentment that Hitler stopped the Hungarian drive toward Carpatho-Ruthenian territory and Budapest's claim for a border with Poland. But as long as Italy and Germany are cooperating so closely, the experience of the last year will leave some doubts as to whether the present measures can stop the further advance of Nazism. Jugoslavia also is undermined by German agents. The semi-dictatorial régime of Milan Stoyadinovitch has turned the former vassal state of France to the Berlin-Rome axis. Nevertheless his numerous Cabinets tried to protect the structure of the state from *Gleichschaltung* with Nazi Germany. But Stoyadinovitch failed to win the confidence of the Croats who remained in opposition, flattered by foreign governments, trying to engage them in a separatist policy.

Although Serbs and Croats are the same people by race and language, a difference of mentality has separated them. The Croats adopted Catholicism and the Serbs were Orthodox; the Croats wrote the Latin alphabet and the Serbs "Cyrillica"; the Croats lived under the cultural influence of Vienna and Budapest, while the Serbs enjoyed political independence and a cultural life of their own. When the Serbs tried to dominate the new state formed after the war, and succeeded, the Croats were filled with resentment. It might not be very difficult some day to rouse them against the "barbarian East" for "occidental solidarity" with Italy or Hungary or the Third Reich. Thus the reconciliation of the Croats remains the foremost problem of Belgrade's policy, if Jugoslav unity is to resist the dynamic forces of the Italo-German policy. Dragisha Cvetkovitch, the new Premier, claims to be preparing new legislation for the reconciliation of Serbs and Croats. The success of the brave resistance with which King Carol still opposes the Nazification of his country will depend largely on the vigor and strength of the present régimes in Hungary and Jugoslavia. As soon as their resistance is broken and *sauve qui peut* becomes the order of the day—if it does—the Balkan peninsula will become practically an extension of the Rome-Berlin axis.

Our Own Views on Neutrality

ELSEWHERE in this issue of THE COMMONWEAL will be found eight statements by eight different persons deeply concerned with the rôle which the United States should play in world affairs. One cannot help but be impressed with the differences between these statements; no two of them are thoroughly in agreement, even though three main lines of policy seem to emerge, which differ from each other in detail. To show how complex any one item of foreign affairs is, let us consider a moment the various possible attitudes we might take toward shipping arms abroad. We could sell arms to anyone at any time on any terms. We could sell arms to anyone for cash. We could sell arms to anyone with limitations on methods of delivery. We could sell arms freely, or for cash, or with delivery restrictions, to nations not at war. We could do any one of these with all nations except those we think it expedient to deprive of weapons. There you already have nine different policies we could pursue on one specific matter; many other permutations and combinations could be worked out in the same connection. Yet there seem open to us only three main lines of policy, which, upon analysis, emerge as the predominant lines of each of the eight contributors to our symposium. These three main lines are not entirely exclusive of each other; one may hold that one is best for the time being, another in the long run. The first line is to be utterly neutral, self-sufficient, isolationist. Our relations with foreign nations should be strictly limited to matters of travel and unambiguously peaceful trade, and we should be ready to abandon both of these at any time when war threatens. The second line is to play the game of power politics, to use the methods of the "balance of power," to the utmost. If we think at any given moment that Germany, Italy and Japan threaten us, then let us give support to France and England; if the situation changes, then let our support change. The third line is to make every effort to build up once more in the world a genuine comity of nations, a willingness to conduct international affairs in an orderly manner, a respect (enforced by sanctions if necessary) for treaty obligations.

Toward International Order

The interesting and valuable disparity of opinions expressed in our symposium leads us to feel the necessity of stating, tentatively and with no pretense of finality, what now looks to us like the most workable position. We feel that in view of the present condition of world politics, which are based on changing relations of power and empire, the United States should for the time being be isolationist, at least to the point of not supplying anyone with arms in the immediate future. Such a policy is consonant, also, with the general base of pacifism which, from the moral point of view, is so essential for the modern world. But to retreat into a shell of isolationism would be to reduce one's conduct to the level of the bivalves. More than that is needed, and it seems to us that Mr. Fenwick suggests a possible long-range approach. As Mr. Buell puts it, "Some day the world will have to return to the principle of organization or sink into chaos." Mr. Fenwick points out how one nation can set such a return in

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motion, by making treaties and then insisting upon the fulfilment of treaty obligations through the use of whatever sanctions it can apply. Such a unitary policy could, in time, become general. Such a policy, of course, means that we should have to bury decently those older treaties, some of them romantically and hastily conceived, which are already dead and in their coffins, and that future treaties, offered singly to all nations, should be entered into only if both parties are perfectly sure that they desire them. Such a policy, which could be carried on at the same time as an *ad interim* armament policy of isolation, might supply acorns from which ordered oaks could grow.

Neutrality in American Foreign Policy

THE COMMONWEAL, recognizing the deep public interest attached to the policy of the United States with regard to the shipment of munitions and war matériel to foreign nations, has asked a group of persons concerned with the problems of our foreign policy to state what modifications, if any, they consider advisable in our present neutrality legislation. Their replies follow:

I THINK the Neutrality Act should be amended.

I favor its amendment so that the arms embargo and the other mandatory provisions would, like the "cash and carry" provisions, come into effect only when the President found both that a state of war existed and that the legislation was necessary "to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States or to protect the lives of citizens of the United States." This is the finding which is now required under the "cash and carry" provisions of the act.

Further, I think it would be a wise precaution to make the provisions of the act severable. Then the President could determine whether it was necessary, in accordance with the above finding of fact, to invoke the arms embargo, the restrictions on loans, the restrictions on travel on belligerent vessels, and the "cash and carry" provisions, or any one of them. At the present time only the "cash and carry" provisions are severable and discretionary. The others must be imposed if the President finds that a "state of war" exists.

These various changes involve giving the executive more discretion than he now enjoys under the act. There is no alternative to giving him this discretion if we are to have a realistic and constructive foreign policy. As between the risk that the executive may possibly abuse this discretion and the risks inherent in a policy which ties the exective with legislative restrictions in the conduct of foreign policy, the former alternative seems to me preferable.

The constitutional safeguards which already limit executive action will of course remain. When we go beyond these, and try to legislate in advance on details of foreign policy, we run the risk of forcing the country to embark on a course which, in unforeseen and unforeseeable situations, may lead toward war rather than peace, and may handicap rather than help those who are trying to protect our real national interests.

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG,
Editor, Foreign Affairs.

WITH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT openly against the letter and spirit of the neutrality legislation and determined to defeat or nullify it in favor of intervention in the Orient and Europe, perhaps it matters very little whether Congress repeals or modifies the law. I am opposed to the constant and everlasting lecturing, preaching and interfering in respect of Europe and Asia. Already we have seen our government eat its own words and crawl on hands and knees to beg Hitler and Mussolini to commit their offenses against their neighbors in a "lawful" and "orderly" manner. From day to day loose talk flows out of Washington to the effect that the United States must act as the arbiter of virtues throughout the world. In my opinion this is reckless and humiliating business and is likely to get us into trouble without accomplishing any beneficial results.

Although I am well aware of the futility of opposing men who are bent on war, whatever the pretext, excuse or palaver, I do hope that Congress will make the neutrality legislation tighter; that is, keep all the positive features and repeal the provision which allows the President to embargo additional exports on American ships after war has been started abroad. To give the President the power to punish the "wicked" and aid the "good" would in fact permit him to go into war immediately on his own account, without asking Congress to declare war, that is, to perform hostile acts himself. I do not think that any President should have that power. The power to declare war is vested by the Constitution in Congress and I believe that it should remain so vested. Congress has the power to regulate foreign commerce and, in my opinion, should retain it and exercise it in the interest of keeping the United States out of wars in Europe, Asia and Africa.

CHARLES A. BEARD,
Historian.

THE IMMEDIATE effect of President Roosevelt's foreign policy has been to restrain Germany and Italy from risking a war over the Mediterranean question. Nevertheless, certain methods employed by the President have aroused harsh criticism within the United States. If as a result Congress ties the hands of the President, Germany will believe that as a world force, America is impotent and that our wordy denunciations are of no importance. That is why the present situation is unsatisfactory and should be changed.

In my opinion the United States is under no legal or moral obligation to go to war on behalf of the European democracies. I hope this country will never send a single soldier to Europe again. Had Britain and France been

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willing to take a strong stand on behalf of world organization, had they been willing to accept the principle of the open door in their colonial empires, the situation might have been different. So long as the possibility of world organization existed, I believed that the United States should accept definite commitments in regard to economic sanctions. But the time for such commitments has passed. Some day the world will have to return to the principle of organization or sink into chaos. But we are confronted with an immediate problem of staving off war. The question is how to meet it.

Our policy during the next few years should be governed by a realistic consideration of American interests. The great shift in American opinion during the past six months indicates that the task of keeping the United States out of a European war will be extremely difficult. Even if we succeed in remaining neutral, our economic welfare and political tranquillity are bound to be injured. It is to our interest therefore to throw our weight against the outbreak of war; and should the effort fail, it is equally to our interest to prevent the war from spreading to the western hemisphere. The United States is in no danger of attack; but there is no doubt whatever that should Germany and Italy succeed in overwhelming Britain and France, Latin America would be the next objective, and the United States would have to meet this threat virtually alone.

It is quite clear that the present neutrality act works against the interests of the United States. In closing our munitions markets to all belligerents, it strengthens the military power of the self-sufficient dictatorships, and weakens the hands of the European democracies operating upon a capitalist and international economy. Today Germany and Italy lead the world in the production of planes. Unless Britain and France can offset their internal deficiencies by foreign purchases, they will be severely weakened in the next war. The further these two powers are weakened, the greater the danger of German-Italian victory, bringing the threat nearer to the western hemisphere. American opinion is so hostile to dictatorship that pressure here for our entrance into the next war is bound to increase as the military resistance of Britain and France weakens. Paradoxically enough, the neutrality act will probably hasten the advent of the United States into the next war.

To escape these dangers, I favor an amendment to Section 1 of the Neutrality Act so as to make it possible for any belligerent to buy munitions, including planes, here, during time of war, provided he pays cash and carries them away in his own ships. If we applied this rule legally to all belligerents, we could not be charged with any alliances; but in fact this policy would operate to strengthen France and Britain.

Secondly, I believe that the United States should make it clear, that regardless of the original spirit of the Neutrality Act, this government does not intend to abandon the principle of the freedom of the seas, and that we will not acquiesce in any act of piracy against our legitimate commerce during time of war. Such acquiescence can only encourage the aggressor to carry the war into American waters. In the event of a general European war, belligerents will rely upon Latin America for many raw materials. If we fail to use our naval strength to enforce the law of the sea, we are likely to see belligerent submarines and destroyers anchored a few miles off the ports of every American country, seizing or sinking all outgoing vessels, because in the next war this will be the most effective form of blockade.

Today the United States is building up a powerful military establishment, but the Neutrality Act prevents the potential weight of this establishment from being used either to avert the outbreak of war or protect our own interests should war break out. If our foreign policy is to be governed by our interests rather than by emotionalism, we should amend the Neutrality Act to permit the purchase of munitions upon the cash and carry basis, and we should make it clear that we have not abandoned the freedom of the seas.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL,
President, Foreign Policy Association,
Round Table Editor, Fortune.

AT PRESENT the Neutrality Act forbids our sending armaments to nations warring against each other; it was amended to include those engaged in civil war. My personal opinion and the opinion we are stressing in the *Catholic Worker* is that it should be changed to read that the United States should sell no munitions to any country whatsoever, since we all know that those countries to which we sell them, resell to those who are fighting. It would be better for the United States to take over the manufacture of munitions altogether, taking it out of the hands of the munition makers who think in terms of profit. It is not enough just to conscript munition factories in time of war as has been suggested after criticism of the great profits made in the last war. Now is the time to discuss this matter and work toward the solution. There can be no true neutrality as long as we deal in munitions with any country whatsoever.

When the President talks about the democratic nations who may be made to suffer for lack of aid, it might be good to remind him that feeding the hungry is one of the works of mercy. That would take care of the much criticized point in the President's program of limiting production of wheat and corn and hogs.

DOROTHY DAY,
The Catholic Worker.

OUR PRESENT neutrality legislation is first of all wrong in principle, because it makes no distinction between belligerents on the basis of the justice or injustice of their conduct. It does not inquire whether one may have violated the Kellogg Pact and the other observed it; it treats the state which has broken its treaties with the United States on a par with the state which has lived up to them; it regards the criminal and his victim with equal favor. In so doing our neutrality legislation disregards the interest of the United States in the maintenance of law and order in the world; it makes no contribution to the prevention of war; it merely seeks to avoid the conse-

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quences of war after it has been allowed to break out. By concentrating too narrowly upon what seem to be the immediate interests of the United States the neutrality legislation makes the danger of war all the greater; by condoning lawlessness it has the effect of exposing us to situations which experience has proved are likely to draw us into the conflict.

Secondly, the neutrality legislation of the United States, past as well as present, has never been logical or consistent. We have asserted our political isolation, but we have always wanted to maintain economic contact with the belligerents. Our earliest neutrality legislation permitted trade with both belligerents, and we soon found ourselves at war with the one that did most violence to our trade. Even after our experience of being drawn into the World War the neutrality legislation of 1935 and 1937 did not attempt to cut off all trade with the belligerents. The American people are apparently not willing to pay the price of complete economic isolation. Instead we have compromised, and we have not concerned ourselves whether the compromise we adopted might have the effect on occasion of strengthening the hand of the aggressor and permitting him, while violating his treaties with us, to draw upon us for supplies.

If we are to avoid war we must do more than take refuge in a pretended isolation which is neither economically feasible nor morally justifiable. Rather we should use our great economic power as a deterrent to those who would break their treaties with us and create the conditions which are almost certain in the long run to involve us in war. The safest insurance against war is to let it be known that the great resources of the United States will be on the side of those who observe the law. We need not go to war to restrain the aggressor; we need only notify him that he will find the weight of our economic power against him. Let Congress make the distinction between aggressor and victim, if need be. If potential law-breakers knew that the United States, even after considerable delay, might ultimately distinguish between aggressor and victim, they would hesitate long before risking the commission of their criminal act. The ultimate cure of war must obviously consist in removing the political and economic causes that lead nations to resort to force to attain their objectives. But in the meantime, and assuming a willingness on the part of the United States to cooperate with other nations to that end, it is vitally important in our own national interest to let it be known that we are on the side of law and order and peaceful procedure.

An important foot-note should be added that the points above made refer only to war between nations, not to civil war. International law has never developed principles by which the right and wrong of the parties to a civil war can be determined. It is to be hoped that some day it will do so; but until it does our neutrality legislation should make no attempt to distinguish between them. Rather, it should prohibit the sale of arms and other war materials to both sides.

C. G. FENWICK,
Professor of Political Science,
Bryn Mawr College.

OUR FOREFATHERS recognized the well-established fact that any nation which leaves its borders to assist another nation in its strife becomes party to the act, and accordingly is in partnership with a warring nation or faction. Hence, assuming the attitude of neutrality when foreign nations are at war, either with each other or through internal strife, has been a policy of the United States from its very foundation.

It is to be expected that any war or revolution presents to the world two sides of a question, and it is well within the privilege of those not engaged in the conflict to express opinion, pro or con, according to their leanings; but in so doing we of the United States must well realize that our foreign policy lies not in the interior of Europe or Asia, but rather in self-protection in the two oceans that separate us from Europe and Asia, so that we never shall sanction in these two oceans a power or combination of powers capable of overcoming our independence. Because of this realization the Monroe Doctrine was formulated, and it has kept the Americas for Americans only.

In the present regrettable conflict in Spain it is clearly recognized that the Loyalist government has received whole-hearted cooperation and help from Communist Russia, while the Nationalists have received decided support from Germany and Italy. Accordingly the war in Spain can well be regarded as a matter of international concern.

Any nation materially assisting one side and not the other immediately makes of itself an enemy to those supporting the other; or by assuming a central attitude and supplying arms and ammunition to both warring factions, the nation so doing declares to the world that it prefers profit to peace.

The present Spanish conflict has created a division of opinion in this country because there are many who voice their objection to the Nationalists who are receiving support from Germany and Italy, but at the same time an equal number cannot approve of the Loyalist cause because they recognize Russia as the guiding genius in Loyalist Spain.

Much can be said in favor of both arguments, but those citizens who are swayed by sane judgment instead of sympathy, fully realize that it is better policy for our great country to maintain absolute neutrality with proper dignity, rather than join one or the other warring faction, a misstep which but places us in a vulnerable position before the eyes of all peace-loving nations.

LOUIS KENEDY,
President, National Council of Catholic Men,
Chairman, Keep the Spanish Embargo Committee.

IN THE light of the current situation, modification of our present neutrality legislation seems to involve two questions. The first is whether immediate action should be taken to lift the embargo and permit the export of munitions to Loyalist Spain. The second is whether the Neutrality Act should be changed or rewritten to accommodate a long-range policy beyond present circumstances.

With regard to the first question, it is difficult to see upon what basis, factual or theoretical, justification can be

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found for lifting the Spanish embargo, particularly since the fall of Barcelona. The Nationalists have at least factual ascendancy over the Loyalists both in point of geographic territory and population. This gives them good claim to belligerent rights, even according to the terms of Henry L. Stimson. If the United States were now to abandon its neutrality policy, it should extend the sale of arms to both sides in the conflict, in which case the Loyalists could hardly benefit as their partizans in this country wish.

Other principles and issues involved in this situation—whether civil war can ever be justified on the part of "rebels," whether the intervention of Fascist or Communist factors constitutes a violation of international law or a danger for democracies, whether the embargo has actually weakened the "Loyalists" and played into the hands of "Fascists"—all seem to me to be extraneous to the question.

What the present neutrality legislation, based upon the experience of the World War, is seeking to do is to keep the United States out of foreign wars, by removing the economic pressure that leads to political commitments and military participation to save the day. If our present neutrality policy is going to be scrapped to rescue every nation, faction or interest which sectors of American opinion believe is unjustly treated, we may find ourselves involved in maintaining a world *status quo* and embroiled in every conflict.

In spite of questions of international justice and American interests, I see no valid reason why a state of war and embargo should not be proclaimed to cover the Sino-Japanese conflict. In this case, it is quite probable that China would suffer less than Japan, inasmuch as the latter is better equipped with ships to carry munitions. The sale of arms and extension of credit to both sides, in a thoroughly cynical manner, is simply intensifying and prolonging human misery; whereas a boycott against Japan alone, as advocated by certain groups, is sure to result in the type of international repercussions that our neutrality policy is seeking to avoid.

I have no hesitancy in voicing my approval of Mr. Cordell Hull's belief that revision of present neutrality legislation should be done considerately "in the light of practical experience gained during the past two or three years, rather than to rewrite it piecemeal in relation to a particular situation." When that time comes, it is my hope that the experience also of previous years will not be neglected.

The principle of the present legislation should by all means be retained. During times when this nation is at peace, Congress should have larger powers in taking cognizance of a state of war abroad, and the invoking of the embargo should be mandatory except when the United States is positively committed to military participation in the conflict. The world mission of democracy is to teach by example and pacific means, even though our more impatient idealists would have us, like Japan, prevent war by war.

REV. JAMES A. MAGNER,
Chairman, Charles Carroll Forum.

FOR MY part, I favor the speedy repeal of all neutrality legislation passed during Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency. It may be a growing tendency to nearsightedness, but I cannot see a single benefit acruing from those laws, individually or collectively. Indeed, they have got us into a glaringly ridiculous mess: every time "neutrality" maneuvers us into a position which some strong minority, or perhaps a majority, does not like, we quarrel among ourselves in a manner that must edify all the enemies of democracy. Surely the general world outlook is dark enough: we do not need to add the spectacle of a nation disregarding its own vital business, while everybody who yearns to save mankind goes to Washington and throws sand in the wheels of government. We have a real interest in foreign conflicts, whether civil or international, whether crusades or just plain attacks. For whether we like it or not, we Americans live in the world, and our own stability is at stake.

We must try hard to stop and prevent war. There are only two ways of doing that. Either we can help build up an international organization strong enough to enforce regard for law, or we can put up a "No Trespassing" sign on some of the prizes over which war might conceivably be fought. All else is equivocal, bootless and disintegrating.

Of course I know that the idea behind the neutrality legislation was to hold up a bridle before the people and say, this is what we are putting on your horse, government—now he can't run away. At the present writing it is quite obvious that (if I may develop the figure) the blinkers on that bridle have made the horse wobble precariously from one side of the road to the other, while fifty-odd riders have tugged at the bit. Far more simple and far more effective a check would be provided if a law were passed stating very simply that no citizen could be conscripted for military service outside the United States and its dependencies. This exemption should, of course, apply to the national guard; and in building up a defense system, we should emphasize the national guard rather than the regular army. This would insure the individual against being dragged off to fight in some country that does not interest him, and it would curb a potentially belligerent President as well as a potentially belligerent public opinion.

Then we could regulate our trade in accordance with normal trade conventions. We should do our utmost to promote disarmament. But having met with a rebuff, we should sell arms or anything else to anybody who can buy them. The sole exception to this rule ought to be an embargo laid down by an official act of Congress because a belligerent is acting inimicably to our national interests, which we have no other means of protecting. No President and no State Department can think straight or act quickly under any other set of rules and regulations. I for one sincerely believe that both have done their level best. But group politics are highly effective forms of pressure, and this is no time in human history to confuse politics of any kind with the public welfare.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER,
Author and Lecturer.

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There is No Persecution, Mr. Hitler?

By STEPHANIE HERZ

IN HIS Reichstag speech on Monday, January 30, Adolph Hitler claimed (1) that nobody in Germany has been persecuted because of his religion, (2) that the National Socialist State would exterminate all priests who are enemies of the State, (3) and will continue to prosecute those guilty of immorality: (4) it is therefore a piece of impertinence for foreign politicians to talk about hostility to religion in the Third Reich.

In view of these statements, it is well to remember, first of all, Mr. Hitler's statement from "Mein Kampf": "It is necessary for the dictatorship to keep the people as ignorant as it can; only while the people remain unsuspecting, unaware of the truth of the past and the present, can the dictatorship unleash its lies." There is no doubt in the mind of anyone who is fairly well informed about the methods of the Nazi propaganda that the National Socialist government has acted according to this principle. The man who has organized the campaign of defamation against the Catholic Church is an apostate from the Catholic faith, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. He was educated in part at the expense of the Goerres Gesellschaft, a Catholic foundation. His maxim in proceeding against the Catholic Church is: "We don't want to create martyrs, but criminals."

Few Catholics in the world know what has been going on in Germany for the last six years. However, it stands to reason that Catholics all over are more willing to accept the Holy Father's word on the situation of the Church in Germany than Mr. Hitler's. Two years ago the Pope addressed the Catholics of Germany through his encyclical, "Mit brennender Sorge" (With Burning Anxiety). In this encyclical the Holy Father states that after long examination he became convinced that there is persecution of the Catholic Church in Germany, and that, secondly, this persecution is a very serious one. In his Christmas message of the same year, the Holy Father said: "Rarely has there been a persecution so great, so terrible and so sad in its effect." More than once has he warned Catholic pilgrims coming from Germany to be courageous, to be vigilant and to remain firm in their faith.

If Mr. Hitler says that nobody has been persecuted because of his religion, he means it literally. (If he repeats it often enough, he may even believe it himself.) This is an example of the diabolical meanness of Hitler and his followers. No Catholic is punished professedly because he is a Catholic, for, according to Mr. Goebbels, "We don't want to make martyrs, but criminals."

The Nazis have tried to stamp Catholic priests as criminals by accusing them of being political enemies, misusing the pulpit for political purposes. For instance, they arrested Father Spiecker, the famous Jesuit, for preaching in one of the big churches of Cologne, on "Christ, our Fuehrer." They kept him imprisoned for two years. He was in jail a full year before the trial came up; they had no interest in hastening the trial, in which they had to admit the innocence of a man who was wrongly arrested. After he was acquitted Father Spiecker was taken into "protective custody" in the court room and kept in a concentration camp for over a year. He was released only after his Superior had signed a statement that Father Spiecker had been well treated all the time. Or, I might quote the example of the Reverend Rupert Mayr, beloved preacher of the Archdiocese of Munich. Father Mayr served in the World War and lost one leg. He was awarded the highest military decorations for his bravery. However, because he preached too well, he was exposed to the Nazi fury and was repeatedly arrested.

The worst attack on Catholic priests, however, was made by means of devilish insinuations and newspaper campaigns against their morality. Joseph Goebbels, in 1937, spoke of "thousands of cases of immorality, which were only a percentage of the total number of the cases involved." When the first cases came up in court, most of them had to be dismissed. The press, however, was not allowed to mention this. And very soon the Nazis stopped these prosecutions. Yet priests were declared unfit for the education of youth, and most of them were not granted a renewal of their licenses for teaching religion. And the facts? The Catholic bishops made a formal declaration from the pulpit, according to which out of 25,000 Catholic priests in the Reich not even 100 had been brought to trial—and only a small percentage of these had been found guilty.

The attacks against religious, especially the orders of women, have been mostly on the ground of violation of the currency regulations. They have been punished with long prison sentences and have been subjected to such high fines as to practically produce bankruptcy and the confiscation of the order's property.

The attacks against the bishops started early in 1937, after the publication of the Holy Father's encyclical, "Mit brennender Sorge." During the first four years of the Hitler régime, the bishops had been most careful not to antagonize the government. But in time the brazen attacks on the

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Church compelled the bishops to speak out against the calumnies and the lies being spread about the Church. In May, 1937, Bishop Von Galen of Muenster was forbidden to enter the schools while on a Confirmation tour. Even before this, a number of bishops' palaces in various parts of Germany had been searched, and part of their files had been confiscated. It was not until 1938, however, that physical attacks were made on the bishops, as in the cases of Bishop Sproll, Cardinal Innitzer and Cardinal Faulhaber. In December, 1938, the Bishop of Mainz was threatened with attack in his palace, and when he called the police for protection received no response. Later, the Nazi press interpreted the Bishop's call for police protection as proof of a bad conscience.

Though there is no Catholic persecuted in Germany because of his religion, according to Mr. Hitler, there are certain facts which point in a very definite direction, such as the forbidding of the Corpus Christi processions in various parts of Germany, since 1937, as for instance in Berchtesgaden, "because of the danger to the traffic." (Berchtesgaden is a very small resort-town.) Or what can we make of the forbidding of pilgrimages in various parts of the country? The government interprets them as manifestations against the State—hence forbidden. And though there is no compulsion of civil service employees or even employees in private industry to join the National Socialist party, or have their children join the Hitler Youth, there is nevertheless the threat of losing one's position if one refuses to become a member. Lately, teachers have been asked whether they are followers of the Nazi *Weltanschauung*. And if they are, they have to declare it to the authorities; naturally they cannot belong to any other religion. In 1937, the members of the S.S., the Elite Guard of the party, were forbidden to be married in the Church. And in 1938 they were "invited" to leave the Church.

How should one interpret the dissolving of all Catholic organizations, the Kolping Vereine, the Catholic labor unions, the Catholic student clubs, which have been dissolved under some false pretext, and whose property has been confiscated? But Mr. Hitler says that no one is persecuted because he is Catholic.

As far as Catholic schools are concerned there have been three different steps in the procedure of doing away with them. First, elimination of enrolment in convent schools, starting in the lower grades. Beginning at Easter, 1938, a large number of convent grammar schools had to be closed. The second step was the elimination of parish schools. The third step is the forbidding of religious instruction in public grammar schools. This is done by the twofold measure of withholding from priests licenses for teaching religion, and by having lay teachers under pressure sign a declaration that they are unwilling to teach religion in the schools. All these steps have not been taken at the same time in all parts of Germany. They are tried out in some parts of the country first; when tested they are carried through in other parts.

MR. HITLER says that no one is persecuted because he is Catholic. What about the removal of crucifixes in schools, and on country roads, or in the fields? And what is to be made of the abolishing of the Old Testament in the schools? Even the Epistles of Saint Paul, Christ's most courageous fighter in his day, has been put on the Nazi index in some parts of Germany.

And what about the provocation of Catholic youth in a public school by a young teacher who expressed his joy over the fact that synagogues were burning in Germany on November 9, 1938, and who then continued: "Catholic and Protestant churches should be removed from our landscape. They are a disgrace to our country." Of course, none of the parents dared to protest against this teacher; he was a member of the party.

As far as Catholic youth is concerned, the party has claimed them from the very beginning. "He who has the youth of today, has the citizen of tomorrow." Therefore the young people were compelled very early to join the Hitler Youth. Gradually service in the H.J. has taken up so much of their time that they are unable to attend church on Sunday, or engage in any other activities, as for instance sodalities, etc. Moreover, they are subject to ridicule and to threats, if they want to fulfil their religious obligations. Finally, membership in any two organizations is forbidden. And membership in the Hitler Youth is enforced by the fact that no youth is able to find an apprenticeship, or a position after he has finished school, nor is he allowed to study at a university, unless he has been a member of the H.J. and has been recommended by its leaders. But Mr. Hitler says . . .

Financial measures against the Church started in 1935, when Catholics were restricted in their collection of funds for charitable purposes. There soon followed the confiscation of the property of some of the orders—because of "inefficiency" or "immorality," and lately to "protect" the orders' property. (They do not say against whom they protect it, but the future will tell.) Usually the press prepares the ground for these measures. Thus the Schwarze Korps (Black Corps), the mouthpiece of the party, recently spoke of the unsocial attitude of the Church which by its large estates withholds from the people the means for proper nourishment. "Economic and moral abuses call for confiscation of this property." But Mr. Hitler . . .

Starvation was the first means used against the Catholic press. Forbidding the appearance of

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certain newspapers for a couple of months, or forbidding the sale of books of Catholic publishing houses that already had been printed, explains what is meant by starving the press. The eighteen printing shops that dared to print the papal encyclical on the Church in Germany were closed; Pastor's famous "History of the Popes" and "Der Grosse Herder," the Catholic encyclopedia, both published by Herder, were not allowed to be sold. A bookseller who had mimeographed Cardinal Mundelein's famous speech and distributed the same among his customers was sentenced to one year of imprisonment, though put on probation. The *Ketteler Wacht,* former organ of the Catholic Labor Verein, was recently banned because they dared to invite people to a film on the Eucharistic Congress. In Vienna the Secretary of the Interior banned the *Children's Catholic Weekly* in the schools. The *Catholic Weekly* of Berlin has been banned for over three months with no indication as to whether it will again be permitted publication. In spite of all protests on the part of Bishop Preysing the ban has not yet been lifted.

Besides the many weeklies and periodicals that have been prohibited, a large number of books have been put on the Nazi index. Recently new regulations have been published concerning the Catholic newspapers. Criticisms of books must not appear in Catholic papers, unless the books are of purely religious content; that excludes novels, books on science, etc. No advertisements are allowed unless they are of a purely religious nature. The printing of encyclicals or bishops' letters to the faithful is forbidden. The Catholic press is practically wiped out.

In a little suburb of Munich, in Neuhausen, the Church of St. Vincent recently had its altar demolished by a Nazi, who then started to destroy the baptismal font. When arrested he did not deny that he had committed these sacrileges; he brazenly stated that he would do the same thing in other churches. The man was dismissed a few days after his arrest. Whether that release has anything to do with his future activities, the report did not state.

The *Osservatore Romano* stated in one of its latest issues that National Socialism is far more dangerous than Bolshevism, because it claims to uphold religion. Bolshevism is an open enemy of the Church whereas National Socialism has claimed again and again that it is not inimical to the Church—though its actions belie the words. Adolph Hitler's repetition of this statement on January 30 is therefore just another typical expression of the Nazi philosophy.

About Prominent Catholics

By RUTH BYRNS

THE AVERAGE distinguished American today is a man in his fifties who married rather late and has a small family. He is a Protestant, and he lives in or near New York, Boston or one of the other Eastern cities. He was born in one of the Eastern States, he went to college, and then he went into business, education or the practice of law. This characterization can be drawn from the many studies that have been made of the men and women who are listed in "Who's Who in America."

How does the prominent Catholic compare with this picture? The information in the "American Catholic Who's Who" furnishes an answer, for implicit in this listing is some sort of a general picture of prominent Catholics in the United States today.

More than 3,800 men and women were listed in a recent edition of the "Who's Who." As there are over 20,000,000 Catholics in the United States, one in every 7,880 American Catholics is included. This ratio is only half as high as the proportion of men and women in recent volumes of "Who's Who in America" which now includes one person in every 3,900 of the general population.

To make any valid generalizations from the 3,800 names and biographical sketches in the "Catholic Who's Who" it is necessary, of course, to allow for the omissions and ill-considered inclusions inevitable in so new an undertaking. This reservation must be kept in mind in considering the findings which follow.

Among the 3,800 persons included in this book men outnumber women in a ratio of seventeen to one. The latest volume of "Who's Who in America" lists one woman to every fourteen men.

Nearly 40 percent of the men included are bishops and other members of the clergy. The total number of Brothers is just over one dozen, and Sisters comprise less than 2 percent of the entire list of names. This means that one in every twenty-three members of the clergy is included in the book. One of every 6,000 of the adult laity is included.

Although there are several times as many Sisters in this country as there are priests, and although the Sisters direct countless colleges, hospitals and other institutions, although some of the best scholarship and creative work in the arts comes from Sisters, there is only one Sister to

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every twenty priests listed in the "Catholic Who's Who." Not one Sister in a thousand is included. Does this mean that American Catholics have failed to recognize the leadership that has come from the Sisters?

Thirty percent of the married men have no children. Among the men who have been married for more than five years, 29 percent have no children. According to the biographical information in the book, 14 percent of the men have one child. Large families are rare among this group of leading Catholics. Only one married man in every twenty-five has a family of over six children. The average number of children of all the married men is 2.3, and for the men married within the past fifteen years the average number of children is 1.5. In "Who's Who in America" the average number of children is 2.1, and the clergymen in this latter book have an average of 2.86 children.

One-third of the women included in the "Catholic Who's Who" are married. One of every three of these married women has no children. Of those married within the past ten years the number who have no children is twice as large as the number of those who do have children. The married women in the book have an average of 1.9 children and only two women have as many as 6 children.

Nearly 80 percent of the married men and over 90 percent of the married women had been married sixteen years or longer when the information for this book was collected. The majority of both men and women had been married from sixteen to forty years. Ninety-five percent of the men and women were more than thirty-five years of age and most of them were in their late forties, or the fifties and sixties.

It is difficulty to get reliable and appropriate figures with which to compare the size of the families of this group of leading Catholics. Some data collected recently about the families of several thousand children in Catholic secondary schools indicate that the average number of living children per family was 4.3. The families to which these children belonged were drawn from all economic and urban occupational levels and thus represented a cross-section of American city Catholics. The contrast between the two groups is striking. At any rate, it is evident that the group of Catholic men and women represented in the "Catholic Who's Who" is not producing enough children to perpetuate itself.

In "Who's Who in America" there is, from one edition to the next, a fairly constant representation from different occupational fields. About 20 percent of the men included are from business, another 20 percent are educators, 13 percent are lawyers, 10 percent are clergymen, about 7 percent are medical doctors, and 5 percent are writers. From the many studies that have been made of various volumes of this work it is rather well established that there is a relation between a man's religious affiliation and the occupation or profession he is most likely to choose, and that there is a marked relation between his religion and the likelihood of his winning distinction in his profession. For example, a high percentage of social workers, educators, business men, bankers, judges and lawyers state that they are affiliated with some religious group while a relatively small proportion of natural scientists, army officers, artists and actors state that they belong to any religious group. Within the different professional groups there are interesting trends in religious affiliation. Catholics make their best showing among actors, artists and politicians and are represented least often among agriculturalists and "social scientists." On the whole Catholics make a poor record in the general "Who's Who" when compared to other religious groups. Unitarians, Reformed, Universalists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Quakers and Presbyterians are very high in their representation; while Lutherans, Jews and Catholics are low. The comparatively large number of foreign born in these three groups is probably the chief explanation of this. These generalizations made from "Who's Who in America," arouse curiosity as to how various occupations are represented in the "Catholic Who's Who."

The number of clergymen in the "American Catholic Who's Who" presents the sharpest contrast between the occupational representation in the two books. The professions contributing the largest number of laymen are law, education and medicine. Something over 20 percent of the men are lawyers—almost twice as large a proportion as in the general "Who's Who." A similarly large proportion of lawyers is found in "Who's Who among American Jewry." This is because law is one of the professions through which a less-favored people feel that they can, with sufficient ability, gain recognition and distinction despite a racial or religious handicap.

Approximately 20 percent of the men—both clergymen and laity—are educators. Among the younger men and women in the book the percentage of educators is higher: of the 164 men and women born since 1900, 71 are teachers. Twenty-one of them are in non-Catholic academies, colleges and universities and of the other fifty eighteen are priests, three Sisters, two Brothers, and twenty-seven lay teachers. This is an interesting figure; more than half the younger educators in Catholic schools who are regarded as having achieved distinction are lay teachers.

Only 10 percent of the men are business men or bankers although business contributes twice as large a proportion to "Who's Who in America." Not one of the 164 younger men and women in the "Catholic Who's Who" is in business.

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About 8 percent of the men are government officials, nearly 5 percent are writers, and nearly 3 percent are editors and publishers. Slightly over 2 percent are scientists. There are a few engineers, artists and musicians and practically no representation from agriculture, social work and labor.

Half of the women in the book are educators. About one-fourth of them are writers, one-fifth are artists, and the few others are scattered through medicine, law, government service and library work.

COMPLETE information about the schooling of the men and women in the "Catholic Who's Who" would be exceedingly interesting but it is not available from the book. The information that is given, however, shows that something over one of three laymen has a bachelor's degree and that many others attended college but did not graduate. Approximately one in every six holds the degree of doctor of philosophy and about the same number are doctors of medicine. Among the clergy listed it is not possible to determine the number who have a bachelor's degree, but all have the equivalent of a degree. One in every four has a doctor's degree. Similarly, one in every four of the Sisters in the book is a doctor of philosophy. The proportion of both men and women in the book who have a doctor's degree is higher than the proportion in the general "Who's Who."

Among the 164 men and women in the "Catholic Who's Who" born since 1900 there seems to be only three who have not attended college. One hundred and forty-eight—90 percent—are college graduates. Seventy-four of them have a college degree from a non-Catholic college or university. That is about what would be expected since half the Catholics in the country who go to college go to non-Catholic institutions. Sixty-three of the 164 have a master's degree and thirty-seven have the degree of doctor of philosophy or another doctor's degree. Twenty-one of these younger men and women who have a doctor's degree received the degree from a non-Catholic university and sixteen have a doctor's degree from a Catholic institution. Six of the doctorates were granted by the Catholic University of America, five were granted by the University of Wisconsin, three are from Johns Hopkins.

Immersed as we are in the highly uncritical American regard for higher education and for college degrees all this evidence that the leading younger Catholics in the United States today are very "well educated" is, superficially, encouraging. Actually, however, it may represent an unconscious discrimination against those who do not have a college training. Several remarkable good young Catholic artists and writers who are not college graduates are not in the book.

One-third of the men and women in the "American Catholic Who's Who" live in the three Eastern States of New York, Masachusetts and Pennsylvania. Exactly half the men and women in the book are residents of New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio and the District of Columbia. Obviously, then, the other forty-two states have scattered through them only 50 percent of the leading Catholics in America.

Among the older persons in the "Catholic Who's Who," one in every six is foreign born while among those who are younger, only one in every forty is of foreign birth. Ireland was the birthplace of the largest number of foreign born among the older men, and also many came from Germany and France. Not one of the younger persons was born in Ireland, Germany or France.

From all these numbers and percentages some valid generalizations can be made about prominent Catholics—or at any rate about the men and women who are regarded as prominent by the Catholic editors and bishops who compiled the list as prominent enough for inclusion in the "Who's Who." First of all, it is evident that the term usually refers to a man, infrequently to a woman, very infrequently to a Sister. Although the book contains a larger proportion of the clergy than of the laity, the total number of laymen exceeds the number of clergy listed. Most of the men are married. Nearly a third of them have no children, and the average number of children per family is less than three. A large proportion of the men are college graduates and over half of them are lawyers, educators or business men. The prominent Catholic is twice as likely to be a lawyer and only half as likely to be in business as the prominent American who is not a Catholic.

Man, the Inventor

Man, at your arrogant machine,
Inventive genius of a war
On which the pride of nations lean,
May I become inquisitor?

I see what steel devices kill
Your brother in a flood of pain,
I know of old what marvels spill
Disaster on a priceless brain.

But where are bullets that can lay
Greed and dissension in the dust?
Where is the bomb whose breath can stay
The hordes of heresy and lust?

I see munitions without end,
Box upon box of warfare piled.
Show me one weapon to defend
The innocence of any child.

JESSICA POWERS.

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Fifty-Dollar Babies

By JOHN J. O'CONNOR

EIGHTEEN THOUSAND children were registered this year in the Catholic elementary schools of Chicago. This number included many children who first saw the light of day in the Lewis Memorial Maternity Hospital. There are nineteen Catholic hospitals in the city. The unique feature of the Lewis Hospital is that the total expense involved in bringing a child into the world is only $50.

Judging from the current widespread interest in group medicine, it would appear that the problem of providing adequate medical care for salaried workers, who cannot afford the usual medical costs and yet are too proud to attend free clinics, has not yet been solved.

A federal grand jury in Washington recently charged that the American Medical Association, the Medical Society of the District of Columbia, the Washington Academy of Surgery, the Harris County Medical Society of Houston, Texas, and twenty-one prominent physicians had violated the Sherman Anti-trust Act by conspiring against Group Health Association, Inc. This association was founded in 1937 by employees of the Home Owners Loan Corporation in Washington for the purpose of obtaining complete medical service at low cost. They individually agreed to pay $26.40 a year for this service. The fund thus collected was sufficient to pay eleven doctors, seven nurses and four technicians; but not to establish a hospital.

Organized medicine promptly declared war on the association, refused to permit physicians to join this cooperative movement, outlawed those who did join it, and disbarred them from practising in any but government-supported institutions in the District of Columbia. It strenuously protested that physicians should not be blamed for prevailing economic conditions which make it difficult or impossible for low-income workers to secure proper medical care. It pointed out that the medical care provided by the association was inadequate. It emphasized the fact that cooperative medicine makes no provision for charity cases, destroys the personal relationship between doctor and patient, and competes with physicians paid by individual fees rather than by a regular monthly salary.

In some parts of the country, cooperative medicine, despite the animosity of organized medicine, is in a much stronger financial position, owns its own hospitals and equipment, provides one doctor for every 300 members, and costs each subscriber approximately $25 a year. There is also a growing number of voluntary group insurance projects. These efforts to provide low-cost medical service, however commendable, do not reach more than 2,000,000 people. I. S. Falk, Social Security Board statistician, recently declared that, in 1936, nearly 250,000 women did not have the advantage of a physician's care at the time of delivery. For the great majority of the 1,000,000 births attended each year in the home by a physician, there is no qualified nurse to aid in caring for the mother and baby. Physicians estimate on the basis of experience that from one-half to two-thirds of the maternal deaths are preventable. The deaths of new-born infants can be reduced at least one-third and probably one-half.

The Technical Committee of Miss Josephine Roche's Interdependent Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities estimated the number of medically needy people in the United States at 40,000,000 and urged congressional adoption of a five-point national health program. The first recommendation was that the existing federal-state cooperative program for general public health services and for material and child health services, both recently strengthened under the Social Security Act, be further extended through enlarged grants-in-aid to the states. The second recommendation was concerned with federal grants-in-aid for the construction of needed hospitals. The third recommendation called for federal grants-in-aid to the states to help them meet the costs of a medical care program for recipients of relief or public assistance and for other persons with low incomes who are able to meet the ordinary costs of living but not the extraordinary costs of illness. The fourth recommendation was presented as complementary to the third and called for grants-in-aid to states to enable them to set up a general program of medical care, either by the use of taxation, or by state health insurance programs, or by a combination of the two. The final recommendation proposed that federal action be taken toward the development of disability compensation—that is, benefit payments to insured workers who are temporarily or permanently disabled. This recommendation contemplates insurance against loss of wages on account of disability.

Whatever Congress may decide to do regarding this billion-dollar program, the Lewis Hospital will continue to provide an effective solution to at least one phase of a very complex problem. The primary purpose of this world-famous institution is "to provide and sustain the Catholic position against birth control and to fight back this pagan plague from the invasion of Catholic homes."

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There are hospitals in Chicago for the rich and for the poor. There is an archdiocesan institution dedicated to the care of unwed mothers. There is a hospital for the Negro race. Since the Lewis Hospital was designed to serve one specific need, a few essential requirements must be fulfilled before the plan operates. The parents must be of the white race. They must be living in legitimate wedlock. They must be in good standing in their respective parishes. The husband's income must not exceed $2,400 a year.

The hospital is not a charity institution in the usual acceptance of the word. It is not a free dispensary. It is intended to benefit those parents in modest circumstances to whom the birth of a child would be a serious economic problem.

The Lewis plan is simplicity itself. There is no red-tape. When a wife discovers she is pregnant, she obtains a note from her pastor to the Sister Superior of the hospital. If she is not a Catholic, the note can be secured by her Catholic husband. She presents it and is registered at once. A satisfactory financial arrangement is then made. The full sum of $50 may be paid immediately or partial payments may be spread over the entire pre-natal period. The fixed charge includes both pre-natal and post-natal care, the laboratory fee, the delivery room fee, doctor's and nurse's service, the baby's clothes while in the hospital, and ten days hospitalization. Medicines, if necessary, are sold at cost. A nominal charge is made for a Caesarian section. If the patient desires or needs to remain in the hospital beyond the ten-day period, the charge is $3.50 a day.

Eighteen Sisters are attached to the hospital staff. There are seven resident staff physicians and an average of forty-five graduate nurses. There are no nurses in training and no internes.

Over 17,000 children have been born in the hospital since its foundation. An average of 2,200 patients are cared for each year. When I was in Chicago a few weeks ago, the number of beds then ready for occupancy was 114. Mothers are advised to register early for pre-natal care. They report to the clinic at regular intervals. Patients' records are kept on file, pending the date when expectant mothers will be hospitalized.

There has been no decline in the number of patients in recent years. Twilight Sleep is not used. Ether or cyclopropane is used, when needed, in the latter stages of each case. The mortality rate in the hospital has been two or three deaths a year—and usually from causes not directly associated with maternity.

THE LEWIS HOSPITAL was dedicated to Our Lady of Providence on January 4, 1931, by His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, in memory of the departed relatives of Frank J. Lewis. Nearly half a century ago, as a young priest, Cardinal Mundelein's first sick-call was to a woman dying of puerperal fever. He never forgot the incident. Why did so many women die in child-birth? Could the mortality rate for mothers and infants be somehow drastically reduced?

As the full effects of the industrial revolution, unrestrained by Christian principles, became manifest in this country, about the turn of the century, another serious problem presented itself. Cardinal Mundelein was among the first to perceive the great danger to the Church and to the United States in the propaganda for birth control. He promptly questioned whether, if the movement succeeded, it might not mean the gradual decay of the white races. The free circulation of birth control literature in Chicago became illegal only because he entered into the prosecution of offenders as a "friend of the court" and carried the burden of litigation.

Young married people began to discuss their intimate domestic problems with this aggressive, social-minded prelate. They told him of their small wages. They explained just how every cent they earned was parceled out in advance for rent, food, clothing, car-fare, insurance, taxes, interest and part-payment on mortgages—if they were paying on a little home. The birth of a new baby was a time of stress and worry for both parents—an additional and heavy expense which they could ill afford.

Cardinal Mundelein learned that if the people were God-fearing Christians, they deprived themselves of many things, shouldered the consequent debt and were probably still paying some of the bills for one baby when another was already on the way. If they were not God-fearing, they either used contraceptive methods, or committed abortion, because they could not afford the cost of another baby so soon.

He became convinced that it was not sufficient to thunder away in the pulpit and in the press against these evils, or to deny absolution in the confessional to those guilty. Something constructive, he thought, should be done to help those who were desperately trying to live Christian lives. Some remedy had to be found for the economic problem. In 1921 he drew up the plan for the hospital. Ten years later a man was found, as social-minded as was the Cardinal himself, who would supply the desired financial help.

At the suggestion of Cardinal Mundelein, Lewis purchased the Lakota Hotel, South Michigan Avenue at Thirtieth Street. This landmark was the pride of Chicago during the World Fair of 1893 and was originally built to accommodate the notable visitors to this exposition. Lewis completely modernized the eleven-story building and converted its total floor space of 160,000 square feet into an up-to-the-minute hospital.

The lobby is beautiful and spacious. Pre-natal

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clinics, waiting, dressing and examination rooms occupy the first floor. On the second floor are living quarters for the Sisters, a chapel and a cafeteria for the nurses. The third floor is assigned to patients requiring special observation. It is a complete unit, consisting of operating and delivery rooms, laboratory, utility and sterilizing rooms. It accommodates twenty patients. From the fourth to the ninth floors are to be found large, airy one, two and three bed rooms. Doctors live on the ninth floor. The tenth floor has one operating room and three delivery rooms equipped with prismatic ceiling illumination and arranged as a complete unit. The total cost of the property and its modernization was approximately $1,000,000.

The hospital is operated by the Sisters of Charity of Providence, an order founded in Montreal in 1843 by Bishop J. Ignace Bourget. The order now has 4,153 members who are distributed among 152 homes, orphanages, schools and hospitals in North America.

The first baby born in the hospital on January 14, 1931, was appropriately named after Cardinal Mundelein. Georgiana Easthope recently made her First Communion at Our Lady of Grace Church.

On the hospital's first birthday, 1,640 mothers had been successfully delivered. In the same year, Mrs. Lewis founded a Mothers' Club which today has 700 members and is active in the interests of Catholic motherhood.

In 1935 local interest in the hospital swiftly reached a fever pitch when it was announced that the ten thousandth baby would soon be born. Cardinal Mundelein and Mr. Lewis each made a $500 gift to the lucky baby. Mayor Edward J. Kelly donated a beautiful christening robe. Countless other gifts poured into the hospital from all parts of the city. George Francis O'Dowd was happily named after both the Cardinal and the donor of the hospital.

In 1936 ten leap-year babies were born on February 29. Two sets of twins a month is the usual hospital quota. Last year, in three weeks, from May 2 to May 23, six sets of twins were born. Two sets of triplets were welcomed into the world at the hospital but as yet there have been no quadruplets and no quintuplets.

The popularity and general reputation of the hospital, which was fully approved by the American College of Surgeons after operating only twenty-two months, is attested by two typical incidents. The first child of Mrs. Jacob Smith was born in the hospital the year it opened. In November, 1937, having returned each preceding year, she gave birth to her sixth child. A well-known physician recently sent a woman to the hospital who could not afford the usual maternity fees. On the same day he sent the Sister Superior his personal check for $50.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

"SCIENCE in a free, democratic nation," said the voice from my radio, "wisely used in the service of humanity, and employing its three greatest instruments for the propagation of truth, and the enlightenment of our people, the press, the radio and the motion picture screen, will finally frustrate and defeat all the efforts of the dictatorial, totalitarian tyrannies, so long as they are kept free of censorship and control by the government or by any one political party, or economic class or group. They must be kept free for the unhampered use of all parties, or groups, or classes, or schools of thought. Let our free, intelligent, educated, democratic people freely and intelligently hear, read and see the words and pictures of all who enter the forum of public opinion, and our people may be safely trusted to inform themselves and then take action, through their ballots, and their influence in other ways over their elected representatives, that will preserve and extend the beneficent institutions of our free, democratic American society. But in order that the free press, and radio, and screen shall continue to be efficient instruments of our form of government, we, the people, have a strict duty to keep ourselves continuously informed, through their use, on all the main issues of our times—"

There was more, much more, to the same general effect. Then there was an outburst of applause from the invisible audience, and the announcer assured us that at the same hour, the following week, the forum would follow up the excellent advice of the last speaker, by discussing the Palestine Problem—or was it the Philippine Independence Problem? or the Pattman Anti-Chain-Store Bill? or the Spanish Embargo? or the Munich Mystery: Will It Be Solved by Peace or War? I do not remember just which subject was announced, for I had been making a list of themes discussed in this and other station programs for the coming week, and—already somewhat conscience-stricken by the admonitions of the speaker, as quoted above, but also appalled by the growing realization of the number and complexity of the matters on which, as a responsible citizen of a democratic society, it was my "strict duty" to inform myself—I became confused and failed to pay that eager attention to the announcer which, I suppose, was also my duty.

But I did, quite conscientiously (I hope), do a little figuring, in connection with a problem which the radio programs fail to mention, but which, I think, is becoming more and more apparent to some of us, at least, who are expected to keep up with the press, and the screen, and the radio, in their educational capacities—the problem, namely, of how to find enough time (to say nothing, for the present, about "wisdom" and "intelligence") to deal with problems, even to the limited extent of reading and hearing about them. In that day's mail I had received no less than six fairly lengthy reports or questionnaires from

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various societies or committees, all requesting me to study them, and make suggestions, or write to my senators and congressmen in favor or disapproval of certain highly important public policies. In addition to such tasks, more and more expected of citizens, even when they are not, as I happen to be, a writer and public speaker, the list of grave public questions not only taken from the radio programs, but also from the newspapers and magazines and books, which the conscientious citizen must read (so he is informed, or, rather, practically commanded, by his public leaders) in order that he may wisely and freely take his part in self-government, ran into scores of subjects—no doubt it could have run into the hundreds, if I had persisted in my task. But I did not because I could not. There are only twenty-four hours in a day and night and they would not have sufficed to hear all the discussions and read all the articles and news dispatches and reports and books bearing upon only a few of the problems. And some of the hours must be kept for such matters as eating and sleeping and working at one's job.

Now, if there is such a pressure upon the writer of a column for a weekly paper, what about the pressure upon those writers for the daily press, the editorial pundits, and the nationally syndicated columnists, writing every day, or several times a week, and giving radio speeches in between? Their whole lives are given to the task of trying to keep informed, so as to inform others. But how in the world is Mr. or Mrs. Average Citizen to find even a small part of the time needed for the task of keeping abreast with the pace of world events, to say nothing about studying the social and economic and religious streams of force which underlie the surface of events?

Well, of course, the great majority of the people do not even try. On the radio, they turn to the swing bands, and the comedians, and the Hollywood gossip commentators; in the press, to the sports pages, and the "human interest" news and pictures. When they vote, in "polls" representing "public opinion," or in the elections, they do so not on the basis of study and reflection, but simply because they are stirred emotionally by their favorite papers, or leaders. It is only a small minority who now or at any time even try to follow the advice given by the radio speaker I have quoted above. From among this minority come the few people who lead the others. They will do it wisely or unwisely, not because they spend most of their time with the radio or the press—whether these be censored or uncensored—but because what knowledge they possess is directed by principles either sound and true or specious and false. The press and the radio and the screen can be just as destructive in a democracy as they are in the totalitarian countries, so far as free institutions are concerned, unless they are employed in the service of sound principles more potently than in the service of personal or party opinions. The extension of the influence of the Church in these fields of confusion and clamor would seem to be the greatest service that she could render our bewildered democracy; next only, of course, to her invisible but still more potent sacramental influence—which still guards humanity from the complete dissolution of what remains of Christian civilization.

Communications

AN INTERVIEW WITH JACQUES MARITAIN

West Baden Springs, Ind.

TO the Editors: I am bound to Jacques Maritain by personal ties of affection and gratitude. The affection is on both sides too strong, I know, to permit risk of offense if I partially disagree with the "Interview" published in a recent COMMONWEAL (February 3, 1939, page 398). It is a pleasure to pay high tribute to its spiritual elevation, its abundance of sound thought, the characteristic brilliancy of its style.

Perhaps the editors will allow me on one point to voice real blame, since I place it not on M. Maritain but squarely upon them. Why did they ask those silly, provocative questions: Are you a Jew, a Mason, a Communist? What organ in the United States that deserves THE COMMONWEAL'S solicitude, or that of its readers, or M. Maritain's, has raised that trashy issue? That question drew from a gifted but perfectly human pen the only traits in the article that I have to regret for their element of personal animus. In the Catholic press, in the general press of this country, our valued visitor from France is above the need of taking reprisals on the indiscretions of a Spanish official. [The questions unhappily arose in letters to THE COMMONWEAL.—The Editors.]

That does not affect the substantive value of any part of the impersonal discussion. I register demur on two important points. I do not admit that a peace of conciliation is a practicable goal in Spain until the twin coefficients of justice and force have been sufficiently coordinated on one side or the other to make conciliation tantamount to a broad and generous social policy on the part of the conqueror. May M. Maritain impute it to original sin rather than to a seared conscience that I should say so. But so it is.

The French Committtee for Civil and Religious Peace in Spain is honored by M. Maritain's presidency, by its noble goals, by its galaxy of distinguished names. The common basis that unites all its members is the belief "that a civil war is the worst scourge which a nation can suffer." First principles at least should be true. Abstractly considered, is that an accurate definition of principle? It would probably be safe to say that a civil war is the greatest temporal scourge that a nation can suffer. But there can be no temporal scourge of a nation greater than a serious moral and spiritual scourge. Is it self-evident, is it demonstrable that the moral and spiritual evils attending a civil war will be always greater than any other moral and spiritual scourge could be? Is there no danger of confusion, of ambiguity in over-riding all distinction here? Is it not wise in a muddled world to mark the transcendance of the moral order over the physical, of the eternal over the temporal? Would it not be Catholic prudence to say that civil war is the greatest temporal scourge that can afflict a nation, if that is all one can with Catholic certainty assert?

REV. EDGAR R. SMOTHERS, S.J.

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New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I would like to express my appreciation of your well-chosen questions put to Jacques Maritain and of his admirable answers, free from bigotry and fanaticism, of which the world has abundance.

It is time that passes were issued to "The White Steed" if such liberality would induce certain Catholic factions in the Church to see acted before them the difference between true and false Catholicity. The suffering world wants to see and know the Church in her glory. . . . The world wants to see the Bride of Christ as Saint Catherine of Sienna saw her, as Saint John of the Cross saw her, and the wonderful Saint Teresa of Spain, and the noble army of the martyrs and confessors.

The Catholic Church doesn't need Franco to defend her, being the representative of Christ Who said, "Resist not evil"; or given in full, "But I say to you not to resist evil." The Catholic Church has the Holy Spirit to defend her, and through the Holy Spirit the bulwark of prayer, love, faith and holy lives. . . . Do see "The White Steed" —Catholics and non-Catholics.

A. McC. S.

Baltimore, Md.

TO the Editors: This week's issue of your interesting weekly contains replies to a series of questions on Spain proposed by you to Jacques Maritain. His answers are the obvious ones that any well-informed Catholic would give. What amazed me was his deliberate, once perhaps disingenuous, failure to pass moral judgment on the question which he explicitly raised, namely, whether the Franco government of Spain was justified in its origin. To me this is the basic moral issue in the Spanish conflict which M. Maritain deftly sidesteps and the eminent Cardinal Archbishop of Paris faces with candor and courage in his admirable reply to the pathetic appeal of the hierarchy of noble Christian Spain.

Rev. C. F. Cremin.

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editors: Thank you very much indeed for your interview with Mr. Maritain. It is exactly what we Catholics needed to know, and the Protestants too, who have been more or less irritated and confused.

It is essential to put both sides forward in a controversy that is so important as the Spanish one. It is very heart-warming to hear Mr. Maritain's comments on the intellectual efforts of many student groups to understand religion and its modern implications with the light of our great heritage from the Greeks and the scholastics.

Frances C. Lillie.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Your dissemination of Jacques Maritain's ideas is a most noteworthy service to a people much in need of solid thinking. Maritain vivifies the concept of democracy and makes it a real ideal to work for. His analysis of issues is truly impartial in the real sense of what "real" thought is. In his style one recognizes a personality that commands love and belief. Maritain is a veritable leader in this desert world.

Michael Woolf.

Canton, Ohio.

TO the Editors: After trying to understand M. Maritain's position on the Spanish War, may I ask someone to enlighten me by answering in clear and simple words the following question?

Was it wrong, according to Catholic teaching and principles, for General Franco and others, when they saw their priests murdered, their nuns ravished and slain, their own relatives and others put to death, their churches destroyed or defiled, to take up arms to protect themselves and their friends, their nuns, their priests and their churches?

P. McPhillips.

INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION

St. Paul, Minn.

TO the Editors: The article by Ella Frances Lynch on "Individual Instruction" (The Commonweal, January 13) is important and timely. The number of educators, both Catholic and secular, who are today not only suspicious of, but openly opposed to, the method and contents of modern education is sufficiently large to cause more than a ripple on the great sea of American educational life. Born of disappointment and a gnawing sense of failure to bring about any appreciable betterment of the individual and the social conditions in which he must live, the opposition is rising to that point where it will soon refuse to be put down, as it has so often in the past, by practical considerations of immediate, though obviously only temporary, consequences. Anyone who is even only remotely interested in education will know what are these consequences. That the initiators of the new education (new, because so very old) will have to be prepared to "take a beating" is certain. But must not a reform arise from a foundation of unseen and unsung sacrifices by the courageous? The reform must come, and it should come from Catholic educators who have no excuse for their lack of courage unless it be their lack of faith in the supernatural, which they possess, and before which all human obstacles should fall.

General education, in content and in method, must return to the traditional school that gave birth to western culture, if it would preserve that culture. It must become conscious, as it was supremely so in the beginning, of the fact that the subject of education is the natural man who has become supernatural, or should have, by baptism. It must seek to develop its subject in relation to its fellow beings within a world that must be recognized as existing only for the sake of a greater world, and in a life that can be brought to completion only in the Beatific Vision. It must recognize the principle that the natural in all things is the proper basis of the supernatural, although the natural of itself must ever remain imperfect until perfected by the supernatural. It must acknowledge, further, that there are tremendous differences and degrees of natural endowments, and consequently of supernatural perfection. It must therefore (and this will be offensive to many pairs of pious ears) repudiate the democratic dogma of standardized education with its attendant evil, the accrediting system, and become, what was so well illustrated by Miss Lynch, individualistic and personal.

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It must abandon the attitude that makes most teachers think of a class, as against persons, when they proceed to teach, and makes educators think of standardized tests and percentile ratings when they proceed to educate, without teaching, the youth of the land. It must emphasize again the intellectual virtues, the ability to think, to recognize first principles, to reason from first principles and make proper application of them in a social order whose complexion is ever changing amid new conditions and circumstances. Thus education will again serve its primary purpose of developing human nature and perfecting it by the supernatural, of equipping the individual student, child of man and child of God, with the intellectual, moral, spiritual and scientific background and understanding, habits and virtues, that will enable him to live in this world while anticipating the more perfect life in the next world.

Too often today the meaning of practical education is wholly misinterpreted. There are some who would exclude all theory and principle, along with tradition, or the best thought of the past, from so-called practical education. Their idea of preparing the student for successful living is to equip him with ready instruments for immediate work on the social machinery of the present. For the most part the student is given no understanding of the fundamental principles operating in the social machine and in himself as a part of the whole. It were like teaching a boy how to use a socket wrench and then turning him loose on a complicated engine with no knowledge whatsoever of the fundamental principles of mechanics and physics upon which the engine operates. Few of us would like to see him go to work on our own automobile. Yet this is the type of person who in business, politics, education and the professions will be turned loose on the social body to make much needed repairs. Anyone can see that the urgent need in even practical education is a return to basic principles of philosophy and revelation, which is what Miss Lynch so ably demonstrated in her article.

I hope THE COMMONWEAL will continue to publish articles like that of Miss Lynch for it can be an effective instrument in bringing about the reform of the present system of education.

REV. WALTER LE BEAU.

St. Mary's, Kans.

TO the Editors: Let us see more articles on education such as you published in the issue of January 13. "My First School of Individual Instruction," by E. F. Lynch, hits rock bottom. When modern psychologists took the "psyche" out of psychology they "ipso facto" took life out of education. More articles like that of E. F. Lynch should help to revitalize the true purpose of education.

A. J. ADAMS, S.J.

Elwood, Ind.

TO the Editors: I want to compliment you on the article you had in your issue of January 13 on adapting the school to the child (Ella Frances Lynch's "My First School of Individual Instruction"). Hope there will be more of them.

REV. ANTHONY LETKO.

Points & Lines

The Ananias Club Again

THE EVENTS of the last two weeks relating to the shipment of arms to France and England and the imputation to the President of a statement that our frontier now lies on the Rhine led to a strong outburst by Mr. Roosevelt, in which he denied considering any changes in our foreign policy and described those who had given rise to the Rhine frontier rumor as "boobs" and perpetrators of "a deliberate lie." His attack was equally directed against opposition politicians and the press. The popular reaction to the Rhine frontier story had been immediate and generally unfavorable. Nearly all the press condemned the secrecy with which the whole episode was surrounded. Readers of THE COMMONWEAL will remember that we joined in questioning sharply this aspect of the matter. The Hearst newspapers had at once launched a campaign of capital letters and leading questions. Asked the New York *Journal-American:*

> WHAT and WHOM does our Popular Front—or rather popular AFFRONT—Administration in Washington represent?
>
> What is in the President's mind?
>
> Whom is he listening to?
>
> Is the United States, unknown to its people and in defiance of its tradition, ALLIED with France, which in turn is closely allied with COMMUNIST RUSSIA?

The Brooklyn *Tablet* (Catholic diocesan weekly) also asked some questions:

> WHAT HAS BECOME OF OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY? WHY CANNOT THE PEOPLE WHO ELECT OUR OFFICIALS, WHO PAY THEIR BILLS, WHOM THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT, AND WHO ARE EXPECTED TO PAY IN BLOOD, TEARS AND MONEY FOR WAR, NOT BE PERMITTED TO KNOW OF THIS ALARMING SITUATION? . . . WHAT SECRET DEALS HAVE BEEN MADE WITH ENGLAND AND FRANCE? WHAT HOLD, AND WHY, HAVE THE INTERNATIONALISTS ON THE GOVERNMENT? THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW AND KNOW AT ONCE AND IN THE OPEN.

Arthur Krock in the New York *Times* attributes the President's "belated denial" to the "loud adverse outburst in the United States." Even Walter Lippmann, who supports very ably the thesis that the best policy for us is to support France and England by allowing the sale of munitions for cash, is dubious of the wisdom of secrecy:

> On the question of "secrecy," the problem is more difficult. For if the President says publicly all that he knows about the dangers of the world situation, he may increase the dangers by arousing passion and he will surely be accused of inciting to war; if he tries to tell the Congress confidentially what he knows and fears, his confidences will be betrayed and he will be accused of having concealed purposes. He is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't. But all things considered, he would do well to go to Congress and lay before it a full and frank exposition of what he is doing to avert a world war.

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Mr. Roosevelt's denial produced mixed reactions. The most approving was that of the Communist *Daily Worker:*

> Lies, distortions and deliberate misrepresentations were the weapons of the Hoover reactionaries against the New Deal's progressive peace policy.
>
> President Roosevelt, in his press conference yesterday, branded as lies the reactionaries' stories about "secret understandings." . . .
>
> In his press conference the President said that he is against "entangling alliances," that he is for "encouraging trade," is sympathetic to "armaments reduction," and believes America is sympathetic to all nations who wish to retain their independence.

The "party line" interpretations of what the quoted phrases in the last paragraph signify is interesting:

> Collaboration with the democracies is not "entangling alliance," but would be the saviour of liberty by cooperation against fascism.
>
> Encouragement of trade in the American reciprocal fashion is directed at the Nazi war barter and the blocking of trade.
>
> Fascism's policy is based on increasing armaments as a weapon of blackmail and bloodshed, and the fascist dictators dread discussion of arms limitation. And this is why the democracies must arm themselves with correct foreign policy and weapons to meet fascist assaults.

In view of such extraordinary meanings which can be attached to phrases which seem to signify the exact opposite, it is little wonder that the Chicago *Daily News* hesitates to accept the President's denial at its face value:

> There is something a little shifty and tricky about the President's arms deals. Moreover, we don't know what his foreign policy is. He has not expounded it to the people, and his denials in a press conference yesterday were somewhat beside the point. Mr. Roosevelt should explain. He should state the issues. In foreign affairs, it is his rôle, under our Constitution, to lead. The people, after hearing the arguments, will decide how far they care to follow.

The Baltimore *Sun* (anti-New Deal) is equally dubious:

> Mr. Roosevelt's statement of yesterday, including the four points which he listed as comprising our whole foreign policy, has little or no application to the present situation. The four points throw no light on the reasons which lie behind Mr. Roosevelt's great armament program. They throw no light on his decision to sell airplanes to Great Britain and France. They throw no light on the series of secret conferences in Washington. They are vague, trite and of such general character as to be subject to any one of a dozen differing interpretations. They do not dovetail with Mr. Roosevelt's previous public speeches on the subject nor with his own acts and those of his ministers.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* takes literally what the President said, and asserts that "there is a blatherskite on the Military Affairs Committee of the United States Senate . . . who would misquote the President" in a way which "might do great damage to his country." At the other extreme is the New York *Sun,* bitterly anti-New Deal. Referring to the day when the President denied the Rhine frontier story, it recalls the presidential attack on the Dies Committee last October and says:

> And on Friday, the day when the President was fulminating again, the House of Representatives voted, 334 to 35, to continue the Dies Committee and its investigation of un-American activities. It is heartening to find that 187 Democrats voted for the resolution and only 34 against it. That was the answer of the House to the first attack ever made by a President on the work of one of its committees. The sky grows brighter.

A more moderate criticism, on tactical grounds, is expressed by the *Christian Science Monitor:*

> In his resentment at what he thinks the work of political enemies, the President has gone farther than was needed and destroyed part of the effect of the gesture which was to have helped stiffen the front of international law and order. As appears in the response of Field Marshal Hermann Wilhelm Goering's newspaper, the vigor of the President's denial has given spokesmen of the dictatorships an opportunity to crow.

Sale to the TVA

EVERYONE seemed delighted with the $78,000,000 sale of Commonwealth and Southern properties to the Tennessee Valley Authority. The pleasure of Wall Street was indicated by a flurry of buying which spread out from utility securities. Editors of varying ideological sympathies joined in the acclaim, if for differing reasons. The ardently anti-New Deal New York *Sun* declared:

> News of the settlement between the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Tennessee Electric Power Company is received with relief by the private electric utility companies as well as by those communities in the Tennessee Valley which are most directly concerned. If the terms are anything like what they are reported to be, it is evident that a new element of prudence has entered into the fedral government's dealing with the private power companies. . . . Although not particularly predisposed toward the private power industry, that [the American] public is predisposed toward fairness in governmental dealings with private business men. How much this may have had to do with the settlement ultimately obtained is still a matter of speculation. It is nevertheless clear that the settlement itself has brought a measure of reassurance to private enterprise.

Also highly pleased with the treatment of the stockholders and the company is the conservative *Christian Science Monitor,* which says editorially:

> Fears that the government power program in the United States was aimed at virtual confiscation of private investments in electrical utility systems should be set at rest by the agreement that has just been reached between the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation for transfer of the properties of the Tennessee Electric Power Company. The figure of roundly $80,000,000 that has been agreed on seems a very fair one. It allows full face value of all the bonds and preferred stock of the Tennessee company and in addition provides about $8,000,000 for the holding company's equity in the common stock. . . . By inference from it a fair attitude may be expected in the remaining question of marking out a boundary for TVA power operations in the acquisition of parts of the adjoining utility systems from the Commonwealth and Southern in Alabama and Mississippi.

Decidedly friendly are the comments of the independent Republican Springfield *Republican:*

> The government's liberal terms in buying out the properties of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation are the more notable because the United States Supreme Court in its TVA decision a week ago had placed it beyond assault, so far as the legal aspects of the enterprise are concerned. That decision certainly weakened the bargaining position of Mr. Willkie; it meant his finish in the courts. Yet, obviously, having won its long legal battle, the TVA has dealt generously, not vindictively, with the private utility interests in agreeing to pay $78,000,000 for the properties of the Tennessee Electric Power Company.

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The stanchly Republican *Herald Tribune* dwells somewhat on the struggle that preceded the agreement. Mr. Lilienthal is held up as the advocate of heavily subsidized government competition that would be ruinous to utility investors:

> It is the fear of that type of merciless warfare which has kept its icy hand at the throat of utility investment ever since. The ascendancy of such savage policies in the TVA was one of the reasons for the elimination of Dr. Arthur Morgan who believed in the TVA experiment but also believed in a decent rapprochement with the private interests affected, under which they would be bought out at a fair price. The present agreement indicates that though Dr. Morgan is gone his point of view is beginning to triumph and the fact should dissipate the worst of the discouragements which TVA has spread through private enterprise. Doubtless a good deal more remains to be done before a final satisfactory adjustment is achieved of all the points at which TVA has tended to disrupt the private industries whose field it has invaded; but with this "negotiated peace" the hope grows materially brighter for a release of the billions in private capital and energy dammed up behind the TVA threat.

The other extreme is expressed in the New York *Post:*

> The federal government has paid a substantial price for peace in the Tennessee Valley. But we think it will be worth the price. . . . Many liberals will question the wisdom of some of these concessions. Certainly it is to be hoped that they will not be regarded as precedents. But the willingness of the TVA to make them demonstrates a cooperative spirit which TVA's foes have never conceded. It is all the more remarkable that this spirit should be so generously shown right after the Authority's triumph over Willkie in the courts. . . . We recognize that many still fear TVA as a "Socialistic enterprise." . . . TVA was developing a long undeveloped area bringing business in through cheap power and at the same time building up a greater community of customers. . . . As the years pass it is upon that basis and not upon any basis of economic theory or hair-splitting that the TVA experiment will be judged.

And the obdurate Stalinist *Daily Worker:*

> After more than four years of unscrupulous sabotage the Power Trust has finally agreed to sell its electric properties to the TVA. This is good news for the people of the Tennessee River Valley who will now at long last be freed from the grip of the utility corporations and will be able to get cheap electricity, flood control and other social benefits. . . . What the people of the country have to do now is to watch the Power Trust like a hawk for its next step. It would be quite naive to think that these Wall Street corporations are going to change all the spots overnight. They still hate the whole idea of cheap electric rates and they will look for ways to continue their sabotage of recovery.

Perhaps the *D. W.* had in mind an addition to the "Power Trust" as is predicted in *Public Utilities Fortnightly,* which said of the TVA's annual report, before the news of the sale was made public:

> This would indicate that TVA power operations were in the red up to the end of 1938 to the extent of $1,038,000. In this connection it will be recalled that TVA witness J. A. Krug told the congressional investigating committee last December that this unprofitable showing was explained by the fact that TVA power operations were still in the promotional stage and that eventual commercial developments were expected to return a profit of approximately $3,000,000 a year.

The Stage & Screen

Henry IV

FROM Hamlet to Falstaff is a jump that few actors would be able to make successfully, but Maurice Evans has made it and made it magnificently. In fact Mr. Evans's Falstaff is perhaps his most perfect creation up to date. His Dauphin in "Saint Joan" and his Napoleon were admirable pieces of acting; his Richard II was superb in the opening scenes, rather less completely satisfying in its final ones; his Hamlet was vital, but lacking somewhat in emotional warmth and poetic imagination; but it is difficult to see how his Falstaff could be bettered. It is unctuous, sensual, humorous, and yet lovable, and Falstaff must be at bottom lovable. In make-up as in action he truly "lards the lean earth as he walks along." He is a compendium of vices and yet saved by his humanity. It proves finally that of all living English-speaking actors Mr. Evans is the most versatile. And he is magnificently supported by most of the players he has surrounded himself with. The Hotspur of Wesley Addy is in particular to be noticed. Mr. Addy despite his youth and inexperience proves himself of true Shakespearean timber. He has looks, presence, a fine voice, charm of personality, variety and a wealth of humor. His scene with Lady Percy, magnificently played by Mady Christians, proved him an accomplished comedian as well as a romantic actor. Admirable performances too are given by Edmond O'Brien as Prince Hal, by Donald Randolph as Worcester, by Henry Edwards as King Henry, by Emmett Rogers as Poins, by Donald Cameron as Blunt, by George Graham as Shallow, and by Rhys Williams as Glendower. Margaret Webster's direction is in addition imaginative and varied, and much of the succes of the revival is due to this remarkable young woman. In short, "Henry IV" is one of the delights of the season. It is odd that this play so filled with action and humanity is so little played; perhaps it is because it needs playing. Let us be thankful that Mr. Evans and his companions play it to the hilt. (At the St. James Theatre.)

Jeremiah

STEFAN ZWEIG'S play tells the biblical story of Jeremiah, the earliest pacifist, whose advice was so tragically ignored by King Zedekiah. It tells the story with dignity, if in a somewhat static manner, and is at least a worthy attempt of the Theatre Guild to give its public the best in the modern theatre. But a play of this type needs great verse to carry it; prose, no matter how capable, is not enough. And it is here that the present production fails fatally. Its success in the Germany of 1917 was probably due to its timeliness, for it expressed what the German people were then beginning to realize—that their forcing of the war was to bring disaster on their heads. It has a certain timeliness today, it is true, but it is not enough to atone for its long passages of exposition. It is well acted by Kent Smith in the title

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rôle and by Arthur Byron as Zedekiah, and by a number of the other players, and it is capably directed by Worthington Miner. But the absence of splendid verse is felt. Probably it would be more successful as the libretto of an opera. (At the Guild Theatre.) GRENVILLE VERNON.

Hollywood's Delight

IT IS seldom that a play makes such an intelligent movie as does "Idiot's Delight." Of course, there were changes such as slurring the locale of the European hotel in which the bombing takes place, and giving the ending a note of hope instead of mad destruction; but because Robert E. Sherwood wrote both the original and the screen play, the daring story and the forceful denouncement of war were not entirely devitalized. Norma Shearer and Clark Gable come through in grand style in the rôles made famous by the Lunts. Right from the Omaha sequences, which were brilliantly written for the film by Sherwood, Gable punches with startling reality his performance as Harry Van, the coarse, cheap vaudeville stooge, chorus boy, medicine peddler, hoofer. Miss Shearer, first an acrobat, then a phoney Russian in a blond wig, is beautiful and correctly false as the lying, immoral Irene, who was "born for excitement and adventure." The success of "Idiot's Delight" is also due to the fine supporting cast, especially Burgess Meredith as the pacifist and Charles Coburn as the German scientist, and to Clarence Brown's thoughtful direction of this strong and bitter condemnation of a civilization tottering on the verge of war.

"One Third of a Nation" did not fare so well in its cinemization. Housing was the hero of the Federal Theatre Project's vivid play; but in the film, housing must share honors with Silvia Sidney and Lief Erickson and although these two give sincere portrayals of the poor tenement girl and the rich tenement owner, the story woven around them is so slight in motivation that it carries no conviction. This is to be regretted; for slum clearance and low-rent housing need all the support that can be given. Even as weak as this movie is as a movie, it ought to be recommended for its valiant attempt to publicize the unsanitary, unsafe and unlivable buildings that too many people must call "home."

The poor quality of the two newest pictures in the aviation cycle that is sweeping Hollywood should indicate that the cycle is petering out. "Wings of the Navy" is packed with noise of airplanes, clichées from former films and dullness, during most of which John Payne pouts because his big brother George Brent won't let him fly and because he loves Olivia de Havilland who is engaged to George. Stunning flying shots enliven the educational sequences which show students earning their wings at Pensacola Naval Air Training Station. "Tail Spin" puts Alice Faye, Constance Bennett, Nancy Kelly and Joan Davis in planes and in a pretty shabby story. Alice doesn't care whom or how she cheats to win the National Air Races in Cleveland. Constance is treated like a heel just because she's rich. And Nancy commits suicide after her husband cracks up.—What is this anyway? Studios should know by now that just trailing an airplane across the screen plus a couple of swell nose-dives won't make a good picture. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Two Programs for Democracy[1]

By MOORHOUSE F. X. MILLAR, S.J.

THE AUTHORS of two recently published books manifest a deep concern for the future of American democracy. Governor Aiken, himself a "Vermont farmer," who has spent his life close to living nature and in intimate contact with actual men daily engaged in the task of testing the true "worth of living," is by far the calmer of the two in his diagnoses and much the more practical in his suggestions as to right solutions. He takes his genial stand on the "hope that a return to more of the New England ways of doing things may prove to be the way out for America." The whole tenor of his book reveals an insight into the spirit of his own people much beyond that of the average state governor or of the mere creature of party politics. This leads him to lay great stress upon what he deems to be a fairly common attestation of "how little there is of fear and apprehension for the future among New Englanders." "This," he maintains, "is because our past was sensible, and our present is natural, and our future is well founded in both these attributes."

In respect to the United States as a whole his point throughout is that "America is a democracy and we want it to so remain. A democracy needs mass education, but on an individualized basis—with the individual citizen doing plenty of thinking and forming opinions for himself." "Mass education itself," he concludes, "is not the criterion of a democracy. Free thought and individual opinion are, *as well as self-criticism*" (italics mine).

What is most needed in the present attempt to solve our many urgent problems is "good-will." To this end, he reminds us how those in public office should make it clear that they are honestly devoting their energies to the service of the common good of all and not merely working for their party, for "confidence in government and its policies is fundamental and basic in the restoration of good-will." But then, the Governor continues: "Citizens also must learn to see the other person's viewpoint, and not regard classes—political, religious or occupational, rich or poor—as natural and inevitable enemies. Let us strive to make our people see that they are so bound up in each other's welfare that selfish interests are intolerable. We can do this by education and example—education in the school, the printed page, the pulpit, the public forum, the grapevine telegraph—to make this great need felt. And we need example not only by office holders in dealing with these problems, but by groups themselves to show their willingness to surrender purely personal and immediate considerations in the hope of the greater and more permanent good for all that will arise."

In sharp contrast with Governor Aiken, George S. Counts stands forth as a progressive educationalist, full of

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[1] Speaking from Vermont, by George D. Aiken. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.00.
The Prospect of American Democracy, by George S. Counts. New York: John Day Company. $3.00.

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enthusiasm for all the *onditologies* of the present moment. In his anti-traditionalism he takes refuge in a firm and uncritical faith in the unquestionable soundness of the tradition handed on to us by Jefferson and John Taylor. He has no doubt but that our American democracy is in a parlous way but, in his zeal to get places in the defense of the cause, he is led into a hastiness of judgment that savors of "the dissidence of dissent" which Burke pointed out as a peculiarity of the New England radical. In this spirit his attitude toward Mussolini and Hitler is pretty much that of all those interested in the maintenance of democracy. In respect to Spain he persists in the conviction that the so-called Loyalist government is still the legitimate government in spite of its original inability, if not refusal, to protect the lives of those subject to it. As for Communists, on the other hand, it is his opinion that they should not be subjected to undemocratic procedures lest we ourselves lose our democratic attitudes and sentiments. How far they should be allowed to use democratic procedures to deprive us of what democracy we have is apparently no more than an irrelevant side issue.

From the point of view of our own internal problems it is Professor Counts's contention that what we stand most in need of is not so much good-will as "knowledge." As he sees it, the most threatening danger that confronts us is the fact that we are on the verge of being completely dominated by an aristocracy of wealth, and so earnest is he on this particular score that some of his emotional exaggerations border closely on the fervid ideations of a French revolutionary *sansculotte*. When, as an offset to this state of mind, he turns to his constructive program he takes as the nucleus of his main theme what, in his estimation purports to be the very quintessence of wisdom to be gleaned from the quaint observations of an ignorant New England farmer by the name of William Manning who in 1798 completed a manuscript which he entitled "The Key of Libberty."

By way of commentary upon the samples of its contents which he adduces Professor Counts proceeds: "It was clear to Manning, as it must be to all who are not caught in the academic treadmill, that knowledge, if it is to be politically effective must be selected and organized in terms of interest, must be relevant to the purposes postulated. . . . He insisted that there were certain special bodies of knowledge which free men should have, if they are to safeguard their freedom successfully. . . . This does not mean that history and sociology are to be falsified or distorted. . . . But it does mean that in contemporary society the interests of different 'ordirs of men' may not be the same and the 'many,' composed of 'Republicans, Farmers, Mechanicks, & Labourers,' must be supplied with those bodies of knowledge which will set *them* free and enable *them* to protect *their* interests. If the schools of the country could give to the rising generation the insight possessed by this untutored Massachusetts farmer, even including with it his grammar and spelling, the future of free government in America would be assured."

In keeping with the novelty value of this last suggestion Professor Counts points out, toward the close of his book, how thus far "no contemporary curriculum-maker

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in the public schools of America has ever worked from these obvious truths" enuntiated so long ago by this unschooled William Manning who "neaver was 50 miles from whare [he] was born in no direction." With brave disregard of all conventional modesty Professor Counts stands fully prepared to correct this age-old oversight with proposals of his own as to how the masses should be equipped with knowledge so as to be able to protect themselves against "the encroachments and exploitations of a privileged 'ordir of men.'" The gist of these proposals need not concern us here seeing that we are already in possession of the postulates upon which they are posited. Suffice it to say that if Professor Counts's program were ever to be adopted—which, in view of the present composition of some of our higher boards of education, is not unlikely—we would soon find ourselves overrun by a host of young, passably informed extroverts full of their ability to tell everybody, from their parents to the President of the United States and the world at large, exactly what is wrong with everything in the universe except themselves but utterly devoid of any disposition to cooperate socially, either among themselves or with others, toward the attainment of anything in the nature of a common good.

If men of the type of George Aiken are somewhat rare among state governors, educators in the class with Professor Counts are getting to be legion and American democracy can scarcely bear up under any further decline in genuine human culture.

Other Books of the Day

One Who Has Seen Too Much

Days of Our Years, by Pierre Van Paassen. New York: Hillman-Curl. $3.50.

MR. VAN PAASSEN was born a Dutch Calvinist; he lived long enough to become a humanitarian and a newspaperman. I hope he also made a resolution to tell, to the best of his ability, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. There are passages in his memoirs which, to put the matter bluntly, sound very nearly like a little too much Bols. It is possibly a by-product of my native scepticism, but I refuse to believe that there was a werewolf in the house he rented in France, that General Franco is quite the dolt and the blackguard he is made out to be. On the other hand many pages have a most commendable sincerity and a high percentage of value. It is best to concentrate on these.

Few men have written so well about what they have seen of colonial Africa. Mr. Van Paassen was in Ethiopia, witnessed the progress of that magnificent struggle to transmit the blessings of Mussolini's "Christian democracy" to the benighted natives, and tells a story that everybody ought to read. It would be difficult to find writing that leaves the smell of conquest lingering so entrancingly on the air. Who would not advocate further extension of "democracy" if all it costs is a couple of hundred thousand miserable natives humanely butchered by the latest productions of modern military science? Yet Africa is something else too—a region hard to govern, where old missionaries have loved the natives and sought to keep harm from them. They seem to have been a complete failure, those missionaries. It is so much easier to confer the blessings of civilization with bombs "that open in blood like rosebuds."

Mr. Van Paassen was locked up in a Nazi jail and transported for a few days to Dachau; he visited French outposts in Morocco; he went out to the Loyalist lines in Spain. Like a good many contemporary journalists, he has seen too much for his own good. Yet there are quiet passages, too, and some of them are very fine. A French Abbé is introduced, for example, who is worth remembering. All of it—anecdotes ranging from Mussolini to an Arab guide, from Ludendorff to Dreyfus—is excellently told, though like most journalists the author forgets that a book isn't written at space rates.

I regret that Mr. Van Paassen's experiences and humanitarianism make him direct hard words at a Church that does not deserve them. It is true that we have our Catholic Von Papens, but we also had our Catholic Joseph Wirths. If he had gone into the Limburg province of his own Holland, he could have met an old Monsignor who has taken the social teaching of the New Testament out of the book into life. He has let bias blind him, and blindness is the besetting modern literary sin. Nevertheless we shall bear him no grudge, for the sake of what his book says that needed to be said. Perhaps this can be crystallized in one sentence: no man can go about modern Europe these days and not ask himself the question, what has happened to right and wrong? Well, we must believe that right is eternal, even though we may not see it clearly again in our time. GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

FICTION

A Good Home with Nice People, by Josephine Lawrence. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

JOSEPHINE LAWRENCE usually worries about some social problem in her novels. In "A Good Home with Nice People," which covers the difficulties of domestics—the maid situation in particular—she almost worries herself out of a novel. However, lack of formal plot in this new book can be overlooked because compensation is satisfactorily found in excellent character portrayal, realistic and moving, almost exciting, scenes of home life, and interesting discussions and incidents centered around the main thesis: "not ignorant maids, but ignorant mistresses are our real servant problem."

Opal Fisher has her first job as a maid with Mrs. National whose standard was to have everything, even in the cheaper grades if necessary. Opal gets twenty dollars a month, three afternoons off in two weeks, and "a good home with nice people." But she is driven by Mrs. National's meanness and avarice to throw the job in her mistress's face; and she walks out of the frying-pan—into the chaotic Hazen household. Mrs. Hazen is an obese, self-satisfied, domineering she-devil who vilifies her servants, talks continuously and divides her time with lying in bed, sending numerous greeting cards, prolonging her simplest duties to convince herself that her life is busy and full, and deifying her house which has become a trap for her husband and daughter. Fortunately Verity Pennell has been able to rescue Grandpa Hazen for at least a part of each day by starting a club for elderly people. Unfortunately Verity is unsuccessful in her efforts to help the daughter, fat, lazy, graceless, overly sheltered Pettie Hazen whose dreams of life are fashioned by the movies. And gentle, spineless, hen-pecked Mr. Hazen resigns himself to the dead, unpleasant atmosphere of his wife's house. Opal willingly cooks, washes, cleans, runs errands and "works like a mule," for her sixty-five dollars a month

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and "good home with nice people," but when Mrs. Hazen's endless and monotonous talking almost drives her insane, she revolts.

Josephine Lawrence offers no solution for Opal and her co-workers. With a good sense of humor and a keen perception of things as they are, she writes in a repertorial style of those daily trivialities that become mountains of annoyance as they are repeated. Mrs. Hazen may be a caricature, but women readers will say, "Oh, but I know someone exactly like her. And Mrs. National is quite right when she proposes a union for wives and mothers." Men readers will chuckle over Miss Lawrence's observations on housewives' wasted energy and unplanned wandering around the house, on women's appraisal of each other, and over Grandpa Hazen's pert, "women just ain't geared to boss another woman." PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

The Burden Light, A Novel of Clerical Life, by the Reverend Edward P. Keenan. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. $1.75.

THIS altogether charming little book, in the tradition of "My New Curate," deserves an enthusiastic reception by those who like to read about clerical life. To call it a novel is, in a sense, inaccurate. Father Keenan describes in fictional form the rectory-life of a supposedly typical week, in day-by-day form. One must confess that an amazing number of critical events are all packed into one seven-day period—one can only hope that every week of priestly life does not include the discovery by the pastor that he is dying of cancer! But I suppose that a literal "diary" would lack dramatic interest and plot, and that hence the artificiality of the hebdomadal form can be forgiven. "The Burden Light" attacks no deep problems; it does illumine that combination of humanity and dedication and vocation on which are based the lives of run-of-the-mill, "all-priests" of God. It is written in a direct, pleasant, easy style. In our times it is truly refreshing to be forced to realize that there are such men—thousands of them—who go quietly, sometimes humorously and heroically, about their daily tasks with little thought of "what the Swede intends, or what the French." H. B.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Arab Awakening, by George Antonius. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.00.

The Rape of Palestine, by William B. Ziff. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $3.50.

THESE two books give a picture of today's controversy between Pan-Arabs and Zionists over Palestine. The principal basis of the present strife is the fact that two promises given by the British during the World War are absolutely contradictory. So both sides, Arabs and Jews, claim rightfully the "rape" of the twice promised land; both accuse the Mandate Government of failure to keep its word.

While Antonius expresses the Arabian point of view in a soft persuasive way, Ziff overstates the Jewish point of view by polemic exaggerations. Antonius gives a history of the Arab national movement and develops its claims in an unemotional way; Ziff is the emotional advocate of the so-called "Revisionists," the extremists of Jewish nationalism. By his more ironic attitude Antonius proves a much more impressive propagandist of his cause. The author's Arabian patriotism is mitigated by the conscientious responsibility of his Christian background, which protects him from the trivial prejudices you find in the political writings of many Moslem Arabs.

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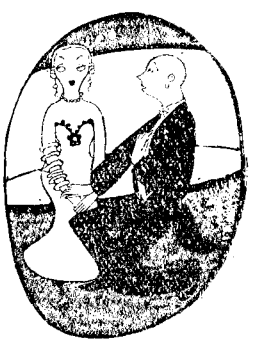

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In face of the abominable persecution to which Jews in Germany and Eastern Europe are nowadays subjected, it is not only desirable but also urgent that room be found to enable them to live and work somewhere else, without fear of racial and religious persecution. But it is absurd for Ziff to award World Jewry a valid claim on Palestine because the Jews have been including the homeland of their ancestors in their prayers, dreaming of a Jewish return to Palestine; for two thousand years they constituted there only a small minority. Even the Balfour Declaration, in favor of Jewish resettlement, does not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into *the* national Jewish state, but that a small part of Jewry might be able to find "*a* national home" in Palestine. Strangely enough the founders of Zionist ideology had failed to reckon at all with the very elementary fact that the desired "land of the fathers" was not a no man's land, but a country where a large majority of Arabs have been dwelling for at least a millenium.

Antonius, who bases his work equally on Arab and foreign sources, is very eager to demonstrate that there was already an Arab nationalist movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. He gives very interesting facts about the influence which the Jesuits and Lazarists had on the modern cultural development of the Arabs, especially in Syria and Palestine. He gives the story of two great figures in the intellectual development of modern Arabian ideology: Nasif Yazeji, who renewed Arabian feeling for the beauties of the mother tongue; and Butrus Bustani, the founder of the first political Arabian weekly and of a fortnightly political and literary review with the motto, "Patriotism is an article of faith." Antonius furthermore tells of the Arabian resistance against the Hamidian despotism, the underground fight of the "Young Arabs" and the Arabian revolt of 1916.

But even his brilliant and enthusiastic analysis of the Arab "awakening" from its earliest stirrings cannot conceal the fact that Arab nationalism was a young movement of a small intellectual class and that it came to its present boiling point only after the invasion of Palestine by Zionist nationalism. The passions aroused by Jewish claims of unrestricted immigration and of political rights in the "land of the fathers" have unchained an Arab nationalism directed against the danger of majorization and the possible loss of political influence in a country which to the Arabs also is a "holy land."

On the other hand, the Zionists justly claim to have developed the economic possibilities of a neglected country and to have brought it the benefits of European civilization. A history of Zionism written on the high standard of Antonius's book would be a very sound supplement to his argument.

It is the thorny task of British policy to find a compromise between the claims of the Arabs and the Jews in this twice promised country. From the Zionist point of view, however, nothing more unwise can be done than to attack the British administration in such an immoderate way as Mr. Ziff does. Without the backing of London's police and military force, the Arabs will easily succeed in grinding Jewish colonization to a pulp. Only in as much as Jewish settlement in Palestine proves useful to the self-preservation of the British Empire has Zionism a chance to continue its activities.

It should not remain unmentioned that Antonius's book includes some useful documents, an interesting criticism of Colonel Lawrence and side-lights on the situation in Iraq, Syria and Hejaz. Both books are supplied with a careful index, which is lacking in so many historical and political works, published in this country.

C. O. CLEVELAND.

Mr. Justice Holmes and the Supreme Court, by Felix Frankfurter. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. $1.50.

IT IS an open secret now that the Supreme Court has played a profound, if undramatic, rôle in determining the shape of America. The office of the President and the noise of Congress have easily and from the very beginning captured public attention, but it was the Court which in establishing its supremacy became the ultimate arbiter as to the limits of the legislative and executive power. No court could have achieved such sovereignty, if it were not assisted by vague and broad phrases of a written constitution. The due process, equal protection and liberty of contract clauses were wide and cloudy enough to screen the Court's intervention in the social and economic life of the nation. But the Court is more than an institution; the richness and fascination of its reality as well as the extra-legal bases for its stand on controversial issues can really be fully understood only after one knows something of the life, work and philosophy of its individual justices. In this slender book, Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter examines the social outlook and juridical thought of the great pragmatist and jurist, O. W. Holmes, jr.

Mr. Justice Holmes was at once a sceptic and a man of faith. He believed in the fundamental soundness of man and in his capacity eventually to achieve social forms conducive to what Justice Holmes described as "the kind of world we should like." For the great dissenter, the only ultimate was the fashionable dogma that truth is relative and that our beliefs and wishes have their foundation in the arbitrary. It may be observed that his scepticism was perhaps the source of his humility and judicial self-restraint. It lent him a rare objectivity, saved him from confounding the familiar with the necessary and enabled him to view with surprising sympathy legislation seeking to resolve the inevitable clash of social forces.

Mr. Justice Holmes rarely forgot that it was the Constitution he was expounding and for him it was not a mere static code enshrining obsolete socio-economic doctrine, but a living political charter capable of ordering the intricate and complex realities of modern life. It was for this reason that he was reluctant to declare unconstitutional legislation repellent to him and often warned his brethern on the bench that their function was to judge its reasonableness and not the wisdom reflected therein. Though Mr. Justice Holmes hesitated to oppose his economic views to those of the legislature, he was always ready to defeat any legislative attempts to weaken and destroy American civil liberties. The legislature has the power to enact legislation abridging the right of free speech only when subversive propaganda is used in such circumstances and is of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger of its becoming triumphant.

Profound humility, quiet restraint, honesty of mind, zest for life, and greatness of utterance characterized Mr. Justice Holmes. The beauty of his homely and sententious style will surely preclude the loss of his wisdom from the American memory. The keen penetrating prose, the subtle charm, the clear and easy presentation of Holmesian thought in this Mr. Justice Frankfurter's latest book ought to assure it widespread reading. JOSEPH CALDERON.

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The Inner Forum

THE FIRST copies of the "Annuario Pontificio" for 1939 have just reached this country. It is a small octavo volume bound in limp red cloth stamped in gold with the title, the present Pope's coat of arms, the papal insignia of the tiara and the keys, and "Citta del Vaticano." Published by the Vatican Polyglot Press and printed in Italian the volume comprises 1,360 pages of information about the Holy See and the Church throughout the world. Its index of persons includes some 11,000 names.

The first large section lists the 261 occupants of the Chair of Peter with the dates and spans of their reigns, according to the chronology of the Roman Pontiffs in the Basilica of St. Paul outside the Walls, at Rome. The next section deals at some length with the present College of Cardinals, with their various titles and offices and the religious orders and associations of which each is protector. This is followed by a number of pages devoted to the seventy cardinals who have died during the pontificate of the present Holy Father. The seventy-first was Cardinal Kakowski of Poland, who has since died. Of the sixty-three members of the Sacred College today, one was named by Leo XIII, two by Pius X, eight by Benedict XV and fifty-two by Pius XI.

The list of the bishoprics and archbishoprics throughout the world, together with the date of their establishment, the names of their present incumbents and so on, requires 216 pages. A list that is even longer comprises the titular sees which the Vatican is accustomed to confer on auxiliary bishops, vicars apostolic and those whose ecclesiastical office makes a bishop's rank desirable. These sees which once were flourishing dioceses in the Mediterranean world—in North Africa, Egypt and Asia Minor—were long since laid waste by the Mohammedans, by the barbarians or by other historical or natural forces that swept them into disuse.

One of the most interesting subdivisions is devoted to the various pontifical academies. In the Roman Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Catholic Religion eight laymen are included, one of them Jacques Maritain. The houses of the religious orders in Rome take up 56 pages, while the Sacred Congregations require 52. "Annuario Pontificio" is one of the most informative volumes published anywhere.

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